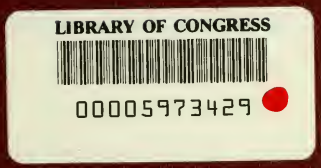
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THE MARTIAL GRAVES

OF OUR

FALLEN HEROES

IN

Santiago de Cuba

BY

HENRY C. McCOOK, D. D., Sc. D.

Chaplain Second Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, United States Army, during the Spanish-American War

Philadelphia
GEORGE W. JACOBS & CO.
1899

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To the
Memory of the Heroic Dead
in a Conflict
for
Humanity

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY:

How this Book Came to Be Made

O FREEDOM, claim that is thine own !
Thou badst him in the deathful strife
To yield for thee and thine a life,
And thy command is done !
So freely, bravely did he give ;
And life for life is rightful wage,
Thou owest it thro' the Eternal age
To bid his memory live.

O GRAVE, revere thine honored trust !
Most precious gift that mortal gives,
Most precious that the earth receives,
A hero's sacred dust !
Keep well thy charge, till from on high
The Angels sound the Reveille
To wake the dead from Earth and Sea,
Then yield him to the sky !

O COMRADES, by this honored clay,
To stand for just and equal laws,
For Freedom's land and Freedom's cause
Renew your vows to-day !
There ! sad yet hopeful lay him down
'Tis but a step that marks the space
From this—the soldier's resting place
To yon—the fadeless crown !

Introductory: How this Book Came to Be Made

ON the 19th of July, 1898, the writer of these records sailed for Santiago de Cuba, as a member of a special committee from the National Relief Commission. The purpose was to carry supplies to sick soldiers of the Fifth Army Corps at that point, to establish a relief agency, and to report concerning the actual needs of the men. For this duty he had been detached by the Secretary of War from the Second Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, of which he was Chaplain. The committee arrived July 25th on the U. S. S. *Resolute*, Captain Eaton commanding, having received from him and his officers considerate attention during the voyage.

While moving through the various camps centering around the historic battlefield of San Juan, observations were made of the condition of the graves of our fallen heroes. For the most part the slain were buried where they fell, or in positions quite near thereto. Whenever the bodies could be identified, some effort had been made to mark the graves. Considering the nature of the country, the exigencies of battle, and the fact that many of the killed fell while lying or skirmishing in the thick jungle of tropical bushes, or in the tall, rank grass, or among the wild running ground-vines, it is not strange that the burial parties sent out after the conflict could not always identify the dead. Recognition was made more difficult by the fact that

the men, oppressed by the terrible heat, had cast away parts of their clothing, and thus removed evidence of their identity.

Only three weeks had intervened since the interment, yet it was evident that the rapid growth of tropical plants would soon hide the places of burial (See Figs. 1, 4, 5), and that the torrential rains would efface the writings hastily made upon the rudely constructed markers, which of necessity were dim and, even at that period, in some cases, difficult to decipher. Num-

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 1—Grave of Daniel Lonergan, 13th U. S. Infantry, on the bank of the Aguadores, near Bloody Bend.

Fig. 2—Graves of Corporals Wallace and Graffin, on the Sunken Road, edge of Battle Plain.

bers of graves were in or close by roads and liable to be obliterated by current traffic (Fig. 2), or on the banks of the streams that thread the valley in which the conflicts occurred, and thus were liable to be overflowed and the marks completely effaced. Moreover, it was even then evident that the comrades of the dead and the burial parties who entombed them, would soon be removed from the vicinity, and transferred to other situations upon the Island or to the United States. Strangers indifferent or hostile to our cause and name, would occupy the fields honored by the valor and consecrated by the death and

burial of our heroes. Thus, it seemed inevitable that the perishable records left by the comrades of the dead would soon be destroyed.

Every sentiment of patriotism, justice and generosity cried out against such a result. Our hearts were burdened with care for the living. The sick and wounded demanded first thought, but in our great, wealthy and prosperous republic it seemed to the writer that there was enough and more than enough of influence, activity and money to create and preserve inviolate a soldiers' cemetery for the fallen heroes of the Army of Santiago, if it were not found practicable to remove the remains to their native land. It was his thought that plots of the battlefield should at once be prepared on which every grave should be duly located; and that proper markers should be sent out on which the names of the fallen should be plainly painted, with a view to maintaining the identity until more substantial headboards could be erected.*

On the 5th of August the author returned from Santiago to Philadelphia. On the day following, August 6th, he visited Washington, and during a conference with the President of the United States with which he was honored, stated the facts concerning the Martial Graves of our Fallen Heroes in the neighborhood of Santiago. The President took a slip of paper from the table before him and immediately wrote the following order and sent it by messenger to the Secretary of War:

"Ordered—That the graves of our soldiers at Santiago shall be permanently marked. The present marking will last but a short time, and before its effacement occurs, suitable and permanent markers should be put up. The Secretary of War is charged with the execution of this order." (Fig. 3.)

* See a communication printed in the Philadelphia *Press* of August 8, 1898.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON

Ordered - that the graves of our soldiers at Santiago shall be permanently marked. The present marking will last but a short time, and before its effacement occurs, suitable and permanent markers should be put up.

The Secretary of War is charged with the execution of this order.

William McKinley

August sixth, 1898.

FIG 3.

Fac-simile of President McKinley's original order concerning the marking of soldiers' graves.

This prompt, kind response to the first presentation of the facts, so characteristic, and indicative of noble appreciation of the service of the dead and of sympathy with mourning friends, was the beginning of one of the most remarkable incidents in warfare. It was the first step toward the restoration, by national authority at public expense, of more than a thousand soldiers who had fallen in foreign service, for home burial in their native land. It was this order which contributed largely to place the writer under the conditions out of which this volume has grown. I volunteered to return to Cuba for duty among the sick, and to make such provision as I could to carry out the order concerning the dead. Before leaving the Executive Mansion I was sent for by General Alger, the Secretary of War, and when I paid my respects to him, learned that already the President's order had been telegraphed to General Shafter. I renewed to the Secretary my offer to return to Cuba for special duty. The offer was accepted with many kind expressions, and the next day, August 7th, I received an order again detaching me from the Second Pennsylvania Regiment of United States Volunteers, of which I had the honor to be Chaplain, and appointing me to duty in Santiago with the sick or "for such other service as I might be assigned to." The personal understanding with the Secretary, as also with the President, was that I should undertake whatever service opened before me to the advantage of the soldiers and of the country, and that I should take such steps as opportunity permitted to locate and designate the graves of our fallen heroes.

Accordingly, I embarked upon the *Yale* on the 11th of August, arrived in Santiago on the 15th, and at once reported to Maj.-Gen. Shafter. That officer received me courteously, but declined to extend any assistance in the matter of identi-

fying the graves of the slain, inasmuch as the Fifth Army Corps was engaged in embarking for home, and all the energies of the command were required to attend to the living; and that the dead would not be injured by remaining until later in the season for such honors as were due to them. I bowed to this

Fig. 4

Graves of Privates John Booth and Wm. Preger, 71st N. Y. Vols., on Aguadores Road, near Bloody Bend, almost concealed by wild vines.

decision, of course, but expressed my determination, nevertheless, without calling upon headquarters for aid, to prosecute this part of my duty also. I was immediately assigned by Gen. Shafter to the staff of Chief Surgeon Havard to aid in the care of the sick, and at the request of Gen. Leonard Wood, the

Military Governor, was given the duty of reorganizing the Civil or Municipal Hospital at Santiago, in which large numbers of the native Cubans were suffering from the series of epidemics that afflicted the unhappy town, and which had been largely

FIG. 5

Graves of Privates Booth and Preger after being cleared of wild vines

the result of the unfortunate exodus to Caney when the city was threatened with bombardment.

When this duty was completed I began my visits to the various battlefields accompanied by my interpreter, Rev. H. C. C. Astwood and by a Spanish-Cuban photographer supplied with

a field camera. My kodac and sketch-book were also brought into service, and thus a large number of photographs and drawings of the graves, cemeteries, battlefields and surrounding scenery, with maps showing locations, were procured.

Before my plans had been completed Mr. D. H. Rhodes arrived from Washington with orders from Gen. Ludington, the head of the Quartermaster's Department, to locate and mark the graves of buried officers and men of the battlefields of Santiago de Cuba. He brought with him competent assistants and eight hundred wooden headboards. I had made arrangements with Captain Gonzales, of the Quartermaster's Department at Santiago, to attend to this duty, but the arrival of Mr. Rhodes upon the field relieved both that officer and myself from further responsibility. It was soon manifest that a more thoroughly efficient man for the work to which he was assigned could not possibly have been found. He entered upon his duties with a fidelity, zeal and intelligence that promised the best results. The difficulties before him were great. The condition of the so-called roads; the character of the climate; the risk of exposure to various forms of disease; the vexing obstructions of tropical plants that had to be penetrated; the rivers and streams to be crossed without bridges, and when crossed becoming torrents by sudden down-pours, thus holding the traveler in unwilling detention until the flood subsided; the fact that the graves were widely scattered and often overgrown by wild vines, which made their recognition difficult and sometimes impossible; and the further fact that no information could be obtained as to their location, inasmuch as the comrades of the dead had already left the field for America—all presented a series of difficulties which can be appreciated fully only by one who has faced them as I had already done. The highest credit is due to Mr. Rhodes

for the valuable service which he thus rendered the Government and the friends of the dead in preserving the memories of our fallen heroes. The greater portion of his work traversed the field over which I had already gone. But parts which I did not visit were visited by him, and when arrested in my work by fever I left Santiago with the conviction that everything possible to be done would be accomplished.

I returned from Santiago September 23, 1898, and as soon thereafter as my health would permit, reported in person to the Secretary of War at Washington. A brief statement of what I had done was placed before him, and I suggested that it would be a valuable contribution to the history of the campaign in Santiago de Cuba Province if the department should publish the detailed record of my investigations, together with the photographs and sketches of graves, plans of cemeteries and maps of the battlefields which I had made. This was not ordered, on the ground that there were no funds available for this purpose. Under the circumstances, not willing that my labor should be wholly lost to the memory and to the friends of the fallen heroes, I resolved to undertake the publication of the material which I had accumulated.

Moreover, I was convinced that such publication would be a valuable contribution to the history of the campaign. My studies of the localities and drawings, photographs and maps of the same, together with the lists and charts of Mr. Rhodes, presented a record of the battlefields in Santiago de Cuba as they appeared after the conflicts, which (as far as I have been able to ascertain) is unique in military history. It is almost certain that no foughten fields have ever been so promptly and thoroughly studied with a direct view to locating and depicting the points at which the combatants fell and were buried, as well as the

rude methods of soldiers to honor and identify the burial places of their comrades. The results preserved in this volume, added to the material in the Quartermaster's Department, give the United States War Office a survey of the fields of conflict around Santiago in the days immediately following the battles, which is as nearly correct as human observation is apt to attain. From this standpoint, at least, the contents of this book are not only of current interest but of permanent historic value.

It is, perhaps, needless to state that the publication has not been undertaken as a business enterprise. One copy of the book is to be sent without cost to the parent, wife, child or the nearest of kin of every soldier and sailor who fell in the battles around Santiago, or who died from the effects of wounds or sickness and was buried in Cuba. This gift has been provided for by the Auxiliary Society of the National Relief Commission of the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, of which the author has the honor to be pastor. Some books of the limited edition have been put on sale in order that public libraries, collectors of war literature and friends of the honored dead may obtain copies. Whatever profit may result from these sales will go to meet the expenses of publication, which have been assumed by the author.

Already many of the heroes whose graves are herein described or figured have been removed by friends to the United States and reburied. While this volume is passing through the press (March, 1899), a government expedition has sailed on the transport *Roumanian* with suitable force and furnishings from the Quartermaster's Department to disinter the remains of all the dead in Cuba and Porto Rico, and restore them at the Nation's expense for honorable sepulture in their native land. This munificent act must excite the gratitude of

the friends of the fallen, and should awaken the kindliest feelings of every patriot towards the Administration which has directed it, as it has already evoked the admiration and wonder of foreigners. Notwithstanding this fact, the writer has preserved the form of his original notes, and throughout the volume, in describing the burial places, commonly speaks of the dead as still therein, and of their sepulchres as they were seen by him. This has been done largely as a matter of personal convenience, although somewhat, also, to preserve the tone of a current description of existing objects. Yet, after all, this form is not wholly inaccurate, for only the bony systems of our fallen heroes will rest in home graves. The soil of Cuba retains the sacred remainder, and this fact must continue to give the battlefields of Santiago a peculiar interest and honor, not only to Americans, but to all friends of Free Cuba.

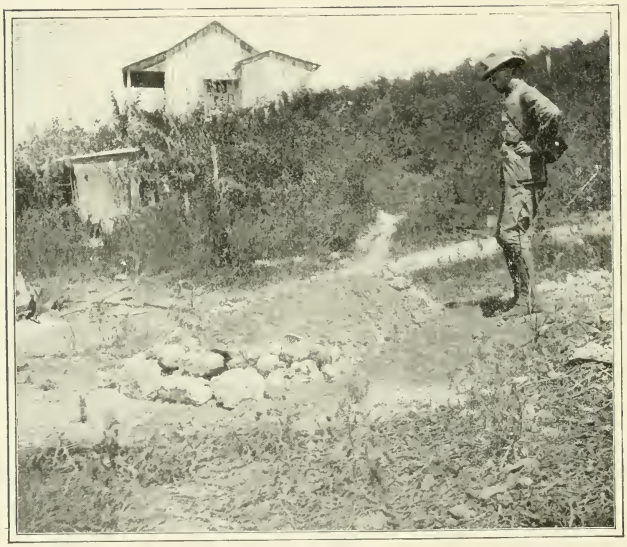

FIG. 125—See Chapter VIII.

Grave of Captain Capron of the Rough Riders, at Siboney.

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Chapter II

Soldiers' Methods of Decorating their Comrades' Graves

HE needs no tears who lived a noble life!
We will not weep for him who died so well.
But we will gather round the hearth, and tell
The story of his strife;
Such homage suits him well,
Better than funeral pomp or passing bell.

FITZ JAMES O'BRIEN.

AND now he rests; his greatness and his sweetness
No more shall seem at strife;
And death has moulded into calm completeness
The statue of his life.
Where the dews glisten and the song-birds warble,
His dust to dust is laid
In Nature's keeping with no pomp of marble
To shame his modest shade.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

Soldiers' Methods of Decorating their Comrades' Graves

THE methods practiced by soldiers in decorating the graves of their comrades present an interesting study. The observer notes a general similarity of style, both in the regular and volunteer service. But a closer study shows much individuality, as if the taste or judgment or suggestion of one man had regulated the mode of marking and decorating the graves of an entire regiment or of a whole section. Circumstances also have controlled this matter, as they have the place of interment. For the most part the men who fell in action have had their graves designated carefully by their comrades, or by burial parties delegated to the sad duty of caring for the dead. Sometimes there appears even greater care in suitably marking the bodies of those who fell in action than of those who died in the hospitals and who were thus removed from the personal care of company

FIG. 6

A cairn or stone-covered grave of unknown soldier.

friends and comrades. In the latter regard, however, differences are manifest according to the temperament of the surgeon or hospital steward in control. In some of the hospital cemeteries every grave is distinctly marked with the name of its inmate. In others, burials were made in an extremely careless way, and little or no attention paid to the condition of the graves or to securing identification of the bodies within. These facts show the lack of system. There seemed to be no official recognition of the importance of marking the graves of the fallen. The service was wrought by voluntary care of comrades; or by hospital workers and burial parties already overburdened with duties and exhausted by fighting, or enfeebled by sickness.

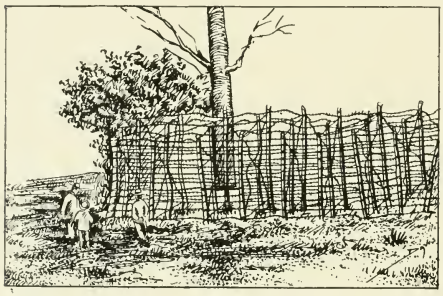


FIG. 7

Wire entanglement on the eastern suburbs of Santiago. Drawn from a photograph.

Moving over the field of battle one observes small fenced enclosures of barbed wire hung upon sticks. These enclosures mark the graves of American soldiers who fell in action. The barbed wire was taken from the fences and entanglements erected by the Spaniards at various points of approach to their fortifications, and which had to be penetrated by our soldiers before the final charge upon the fortified hills. (Fig. 7.) The sticks and wires that were largely instrumental in accomplishing the destruction of their comrades, were thus used for securing their graves from desecration and obliteration by passing men and beasts.

There was great lack of material for forming headboards and footboards, and much variety is seen in this. Cracker boxes and ammunition boxes furnished most of the material used. In some cases these were covered with tin sheeting. On inquiring whence this material had been obtained, I was informed that the Spaniards had used sheets of tin or zinc to mark the range of various points of approach surrounding the fortified heights. These were placed on trees or on bushes, at the crossing of roads and elsewhere in the open, and, glittering in the sunlight, indicated the distance of troops passing near them to officers of the various Spanish companies, thus enabling them to give the range accurately to the firing lines. Here, again, the enemy furnished material to our men for marking the graves of their slain comrades. These tin sheets were bent over bits of boards, and the name, company and death-date were punched into the metal with a nail, a stone probably being used as a hammer (Fig. 8).

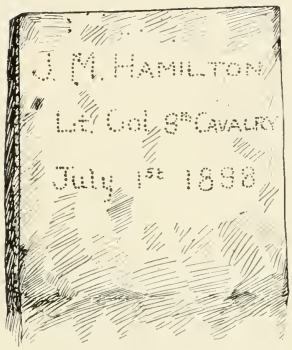


Fig. 8

Headboard at Grave of Lieut.-Col. Hamilton, foot of Kettle Hill.

Some of the mortuary details were cut upon curved roofing tiles or bricks taken from the block-houses or other buildings that had been destroyed for firewood or for souvenirs (Figs. 9, 10). The bits of cracker and ammunition boxes were nailed cross-

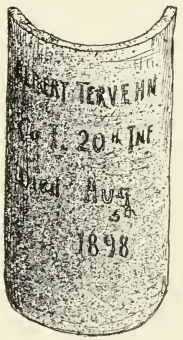


Fig. 9

Tile marker on Albert Tervehn's grave, San Juan Ridge.

wise upon stakes cut from surrounding trees or taken from the wire entanglements, forming cruciform headboards. Some of these were carved with a good deal of care (Fig. 11), and the crosses, scrolls and mottoes upon them showed the solicitude

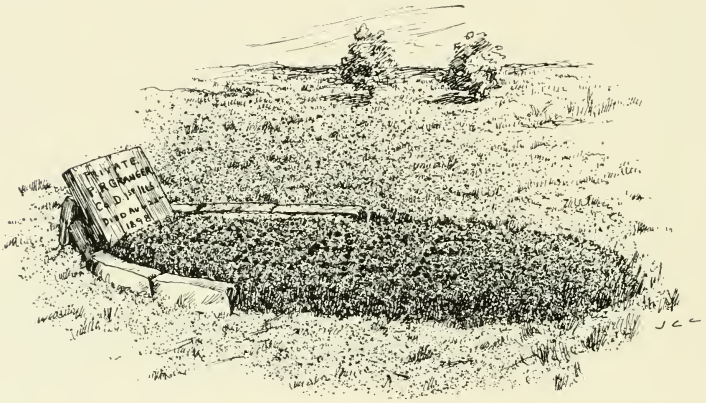


FIG. 10

Grave of Private Paul R. Granger, marked with a square tile, foot of San Juan Ridge.

of loving hands. No doubt these were done in the interval after the battles of July 1st and 2d, pending the negotiations for peace. In a number of cases, trees standing hard by the graves were used as markers, the bark being trimmed off and inscriptions made upon the clean white surface. A notable example is seen in the record made by the men of the 25th Infantry (colored) at Caney, of which a full-page drawing is given in place. In another case three graves were placed on three several sides of a tree and radiating therefrom. No headboards or other marks were used, but on the trunk of the tree just above each grave a tablet was formed by hewing off

the bark, and on these the inscription was placed. The name and company rank were thus opposite the head of every grave (Fig. 12). Numbers of the graves were entirely covered with the white limestone rocks and bowlders which abound in the neighborhood (Figs. 6, 16). This was evidently done to protect the bodies from the attacks of vultures and beasts of prey, as they were of necessity commonly laid in shallow graves. In other cases, the mounds were simply edged with stones, the thought being to delimit the boundaries, and, perhaps, also with the idea of decoration. Some graves were wholly covered with broken bits of tiles from adjoining houses. Some were bordered with bricks set upon edge or laid flat, and large brick tiles were used as head and footstones, on which were cut or scratched the inscriptions that designated the bodies within. Many graves were ornamented in various ways by thrusting cartridges or the empty shells of cartridges into the mound, leaving the flat circular caps to show against the soil. The most common decoration was, of course, the cross. A word, such as "Peace," would be thus formed along the entire length of the grave. The initials "R. I. P.," or the whole words, "Requiescat in pace," were used. On one group of graves the ornamentations were formed of a species of white fresh-water shell dug up from the gravelly soil, numbers of which were scattered around, especially in the neighborhood of the rifle pits and trenches on the ridges. A few graves had sodded edges. In a number of cases, little groups of graves were found, forming small burial plots or cemeteries, scattered here and there throughout the valley. These usually marked the neighborhood of a hospital. In a number of cases, in order to save the digging of graves, which was not an easy task in the hard, pebbly crests of the ridges and hills, the trenches and

runways made by Spanish soldiers were used for burial purposes. This was especially the case in the General Field Hospital, to the northeast of Santiago, near the Spanish Barracks Reina Mercedes, where sixty-six bodies were buried, one after another, in the rifle pits and runways on the brow of the hill.

Fig. 11

Grave of Jno. J. Kiernan, at Bloody Bend, showing inscription carved on box lid and also on an overhanging tree.

One decoration of these martial graves which attracted especial attention was the campaign hat. The writer is free to admit that he has always regarded this head covering as about the most unsightly that could possibly be devised. When placed upon the heads of our soldiers, as commonly worn, it

No. 1 FIG. 12 *No. 2*

Graves of Sergt. Robert Boyle (No. 1), Private W. H. Beyers (No. 2) and Musician Terrence McDonald, all of the 17th U. S. Infantry, with inscriptions cut into a tree.

produces a remarkably grotesque effect. One sees it with the brim cocked up in front, or cocked up behind, or at one side, or at the other side, or at all sides. He sees the crown smashed down flat, parted longitudinally in the middle, pinched up in a peak, or rounded up like a sugar loaf, with divers dates, names and figures scrawled upon the crown and brim. Then, again, it is worn low down upon the face, or pushed high up and carried on the back of the head, or thrust jauntily upon one side or the other of the head. Take it all in all, and in all its varying phases, it has seemed to the writer as unmilitary and ungainly an object as it is possible to conceive.

But his feeling changed when he stood upon the battlefield of San Juan, and saw that the comrades of the dead while burying their friends and fellow-soldiers had laid them to rest with their uniform upon them, as they fell, yet had preserved the old campaign hat. When the earth was rounded up above the silent bosom of the gallant dead, the hat which he used to wear was placed above him, for the most part just above the breast, where often he used to hold it as he slept. As one notes this touching incident, the unsightly mud-stained and sometimes blood-stained campaign hat seems to be evolved into a thing of glory and of beauty. He will sympathize as never before with the sentiment which has made that old, battered, ungainly campaign hat a true emblem of the valor and self-sacrifice of those who fought and suffered and fell in the defence of our country's honor and our nation's flag. While he gazes he will seem to hear voices around him chanting the familiar words of Mrs. Howe's Battle Hymn of the Republic:

"In the beauty of the lillies Christ was born across the sea
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me.
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free.
Our God is marching on."

Thus the campaign hat is transformed into a beautiful emblem of self-sacrifice; of patriotic devotion to all that men hold dearest; of that noble, human and Christ-like spirit which leads our fellows to lay down their lives that other nations and other men may enjoy the blessings of life, liberty and the

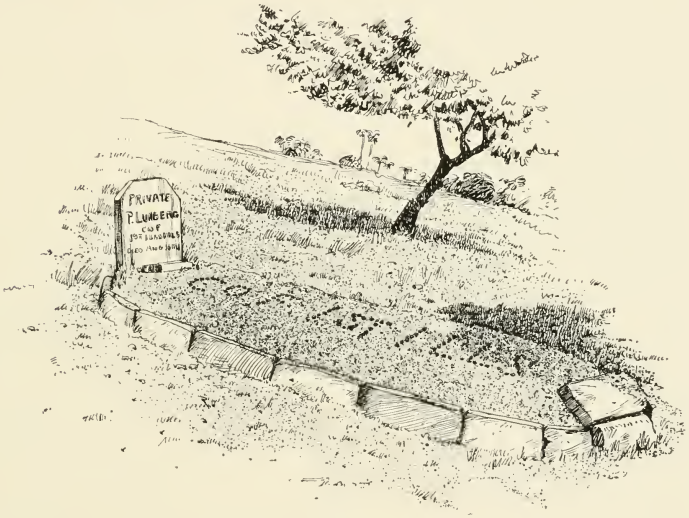


FIG. 13

Grave of Private Linberg, foot of San Juan Ridge, marked with cartridges thrust into the ground.

pursuit of happiness. On the dedicatory page of this volume the author has written: "To the Memory of the Heroic Dead in a Conflict for Humanity." This expresses his firm conviction of the overmastering sentiment of his countrymen that animated the National Congress and warranted the President in

waging war with Spain. It is not to be wondered at that foreigners should fail to recognize this fact. But it is strange, indeed, that among our countrymen are men of discernment in ordinary affairs who have not so read the Nation's heart. No doubt the destruction of the *Maine* in Havana harbor had an important part in precipitating the conflict. But it was only as the touch upon the button that exploded the mine. The elements that made it possible and necessary for a great people widely spread across a continent, with an instant outburst of righteous indignation, to rush to arms as with the mind of one man, were formed and laid by a profound sympathy with the sufferings of Cubans, and by a determined purpose to rescue them from oppression in the name of Humanity.

A lady dressed in mourning weeds came to see me in my Philadelphia home. Her sad errand was to gain information that would enable her to recover the body of her only son. He slept on a grassy slope beneath the tropical foliage of Cuba, eastward of the stone fort of El Caney, which the valor of our soldiers won at such a dreadful cost. He was her only son ; indeed, her only child ; a bright, brave Christian youth, who graduated from West Point in the class of June, just in time to perish while gallantly leading his men in the battle of July 1st. When I came back from my second trip to Cuba, she learned through the public prints that part of my errand had been to note and identify the martial graves of our fallen heroes, and she wrote me about her boy. I was able to send her a sketch of the beautiful spot where he sleeps side by side with two of his comrades, and now she had come to ask this further help. While we talked together, with trembling voice and eyes filled with tears, she cried :

"Oh ! Dr. McCook, do you believe that this was a war

for humanity? It was so different from the Civil War! It would be such a comfort to be assured that my child, the only jewel of my home, had died for his fellow-men. *Was* it a war for humanity? What do you think?"

What could one think or say, other than a hearty affirmative? Did not our President say it to the representatives of European diplomacy? Has he not re-said it in all his public

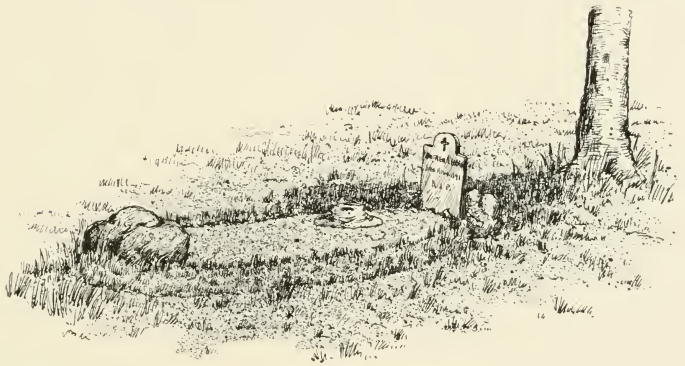


FIG. 14

Grave of Andrew Rydberg, Co. E., 3d U. S. Infantry, San Juan Ridge, with campaign hat The headboard of wood, a stone foot-marker, the edges sodded and name on an adjoining tree.

utterances since? What other purpose had we in sending our sons to suffer and die by bullet and by fever beneath the royal palms, and on the frowning heights, and in the grass-covered plains of Cuba, save to open for an oppressed people the gates of rational liberty and human government? Yes, our fleet sailed yonder Southern Seas beneath the folds of our national flag, but with another banner, held by angel hands, high above the Stars and Stripes. It was the white flag of Charity, the

banner of humanity. Let us not lower that flag. Let us not for a moment permit ourselves or permit others to sully the cause for which our gallant soldiers died, by doubts of our national sincerity. Let us not pluck away the balm which comes to the hearts of the Nation's mourners from the belief that their loved and lost laid down their lives upon the altar of humanity at the dictates of patriotism.

The feeling so strongly and pathetically exhibited by the soldiers of the Fifth Army Corps in behalf of their fallen comrades, and the wish to have their graves so distinctly marked that the bodies could be identified, was undoubtedly cherished concerning themselves. This is illustrated by a touching incident related to me by Col. Caleb Churchman, of Delaware, whose only son and only child was killed while directing the firing line of his company before the stone fort of El Caney. Lieut. Churchman, of the 12th U. S. Infantry, had been sick and was considered by the surgeon unfit for duty. Notwithstanding this, he insisted upon going into the fight, and sustained by the spirit and excitement of the conflict, led his men gallantly until he received his fatal wound. Before he died, he gave one of his fellow-officers a slip of paper upon which was written these words: "*If buried here I desire grave plainly marked.*" I have reproduced this dying message, written upon the battlefield, as a fair expression of the feeling that animated our soldiers as towards themselves as well as towards their comrades. Such an utterance as this is sufficient justification for the interest which our Government has taken in designating the graves of our fallen heroes and restoring them, when possible, to their native country for burial among friends and kindred. It certainly has animated the author in his wish to publish these memorials of the Santiago battlefields as they were

left by the victorious American army, with their dead sleeping in the graves where their heroic comrades had laid them.

Another illustration of this feeling is recorded by Mr. Stephen Bonsall * in a touching experience which befell him after the battle of San Juan. I venture to reproduce his pathetic story:

"Many a strong man wept like a child, as, wandering about the hillside, he came upon an unexpected grave and read upon

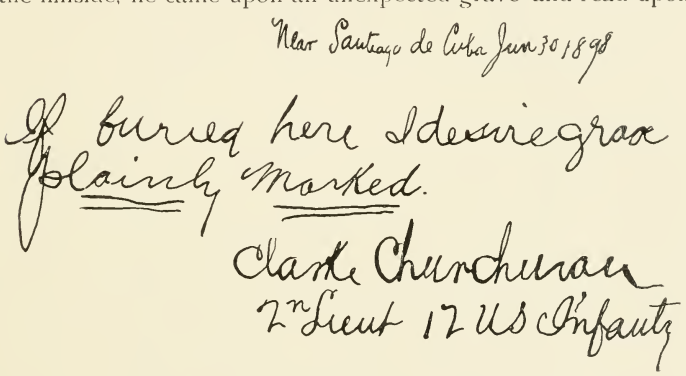


Fig. 15

Dying Message of Lieut. Churchman concerning his grave.

the marker the name of a comrade with whom the battle was over. I saw a lank cavalryman limping down the hillside, coming from the trenches. His face was yellow and wrinkled like a maple leaf in the chill autumn air. His clothing was caked with red clay from head to foot. He staggered along as though his legs were not under the best control, and every now and then he would sit down wearily and rest, looking about him with the slightly abashed smile of a strong man who has grown

* *McClure's Magazine* for October, 1898, "The Fight for Santiago."

weak as a child and does not exactly understand it. Under his arm he carried a little, unvarnished shingle, upon one side of which was stenciled the inspector's stamp, 'One thousand ball cartridges,' and on the other side was cut by an unpracticed hand the inscription, '—— —— Trooper of the Sixth Cavalry, killed in action July 1, 1898.'

"He sat down by my fire, burning the letters deeper into the hard wood with the hot ashes, and then, pointing with a shy, awkward movement of the hand to the name upon the shingle, he said, 'He was my bunkie, and he's buried a piece down the road. He joined at Tampa, coming from middle Georgia, where he had a hearthstone of his own and a six-horse farm, they say. But he never had no luck. He never even got a blue blouse to wear from the quartermaster, though no one was as crazy for Uncle Sam's coat as he was, and the brass button he polished up and sent back to his girl the night before the battle, he borrowed it from me. And in the fight he was knocked over by the first bullet before we threw off our packs and got ready for the fun. There was a little blue spot in his temple, and his face twitched for a moment, as if he was trying to smile as I gave him his canteen, patted him on the shoulder, and went on ahead with the rest of the boys. Late that night I found him again. Well, we buried him; that was all we could do for him. And now I've been whittling away at this marker to put at his head, so that if his folks send for him or if Uncle Sam takes him home, there will be no mistake in the man.'

"We looked around for some minutes, but could not find the grave. The cavalryman seemed puzzled, and finally admitted that the place looked changed. Then I remembered a scene that I had thought I could never forget, and yet which in a few hours had passed completely out of my mind. The grave

we were looking for had stood by the roadside, and the starving refugees from Santiago, as they trudged wearily by, had covered it with delicate ferns, with great plantain leaves, and the red blossoms that grew everywhere about the place. Weak and broken with the journey as they were, it had shocked them

Fig. 16

Grave of Major A. G. Force, First U. S. Cavalry, on crest of San Juan Ridge.

to see the brown, ill-shapen mound under which lay a man who died to deliver them from their bondage. So they had covered it with the sweet, clean flowers of the field, before continuing their almost hopeless quest for bread. Later a more than usually heavy rain had fallen, and, as I camped near by, we

were awakened in the night by a great noise and uproar in the road, where we found a mule train and a crowd of Arizona packers all mixed up in picturesque confusion. When we brought up lanterns the dead soldier was discovered, there right across the trail, where he had been washed out of his shallow grave. We buried him again, a little farther from the road, and a little deeper in the swampy soil. Then there came another rain, a perfect deluge, as though the heavens had opened. The road became a river, and the army wagons, laden with wounded coming down from the front, were mired. And when the first light of day came, I saw that the new road had passed over the soldier's grave, the little mound had been beaten down so that no one could find the exact spot where we had placed him the evening before.

"Something of this I told the cavalryman as we talked there in the dusk of the evening, and the vultures passed overhead and circled about with heavy, droning flight. 'I wonder whether the folks at home,' he said, as we turned and walked toward the commissary tent, where, it was rumored, the lime juice that the sick were thirsting for had at last arrived, 'I wonder whether they'll remember boys like him who went through this campaign just a-hitting licks and not saying nothing, and whether they'll try to put a little marker over their graves—I wonder!'"

This book gives answer to the soldier's pathetic: "I wonder!"

Chapter III

Marines' Hill on Guantanamo Bay

Marines' Hill on Guantanamo Bay

THE mountain range of the Sierra Maestra follows the southern coast of Cuba from Guantanamo Bay wesward to Cape Cruz. Its slopes roll down flush to the sea line except where a bench-like limestone ridge intervenes. This is a peculiarity of the rock formation, and runs along the southern coast like a continuous dado.

FIG. 17

View of scene of Battle of Guantanamo Bay. No. 1—Marines' Hill; 2—Hospital and Camp on the Beach; 3—Cuban camp; 4—Fisherman's Point, at the end of the sea-bench.

Here and there it is cut through by the streams that thread the mountain sides. From Cape Maysi to Guantanamo there is scarcely a sign of life. The shore-land is a wilderness, though the mountains are covered with tropical verdure, and beyond their crests lie some of the most fertile sections of earth known to man.

The mariner follows this bordering bench of terraced cliffs almost as closely as he is pleased to push his ship, for the coast is steep-to; not with a shelving beach or a beach of any sort, but with deep water up to the shore. Some forty miles from the eastern point of the island one comes to a great semicircular bite in the sea-bench, which forms Guantanamo Bay. Across the bay from the point around which the vessels sweep from the Caribbean Sea, the river Guantanamo debouches; and

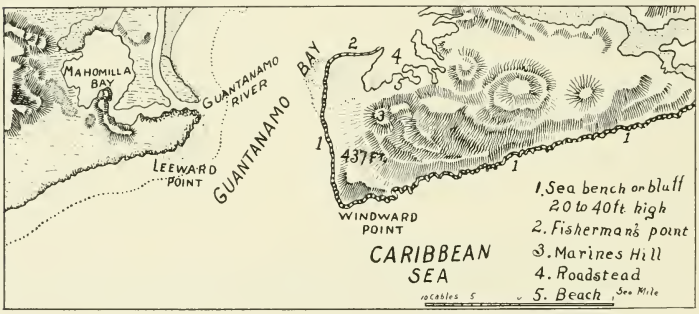


FIG. 18

View of Guantanamo Bay and Marines' Hill. From a chart furnished by Commander Craig, U. S. N., of the Hydrographic Office.

about five miles northward up the bay, on the opposite western side, is Caimanera, whose old fort commanded the pocket-shaped habor and the railway that leads up to the City of Guantanamo from the western side of the bay. The throat of the bay is filled with numerous coral islands covered with tropical plants, and some of them crowned with hills. Further up, as at the mouth, the waters are unobstructed.

There is room enough here for all the shipping that is ever likely to visit the spot, and it was an inspiring sight to see riding

at anchor therein, on the 25th of July, 1898, the three squadrons of the American fleet. There were the victorious ships that by Admiral Sampson's skillful combinations and arrangements were successfully hurled against Cervera's fleet, and in addition thereto the vessels of Commodore Watson's squadron. At night the ships were aglow with electric lights and with various colored lanterns hanging from the masts, all showing more brilliantly against the dark background of the swelling heights of Sierra Maestra, and lighting up the water with shimmering reflections. The sounds of instrumental music, of forecastle singing, of ship calls, of bugle notes echoed back from the hills, and of the confused but not unpleasant murmur of many voices and the varied noises of the fleet, added to the impressiveness of the scene.

As the ship doubled Fisherman's Point, the eye caught a gleam of color against the dark green background of the mountain. It was the Cuban flag floating from a tall staff standing in the midst of the Cuban encampment of Col. Enriquez Thomas, the only spot in Cuba where it seems to have had anything like official recognition from the American authorities. The camp was a unique and interesting sight. It was composed of shack huts or booths, some of them put together quite ingeniously by wattling long shreds of palm leaves between stocks of bamboo or other wood, and thatching the whole with the uncut leaves of the palm. Many of them, however, had nothing but a roof. These huts extended along the beach in double rank, with a broad street or open parade ground, in the midst of which was the Colonel's headquarters, before which stood the flag staff.

Something more attractive invited attention. Yonder, just before us, was a spot destined to be forever memorable as the

scene of the first battle and bloodshed of American soldiers on Cuban soil. It is the historic mound which (why should we not so christen it?) we may call Marines' Hill. Here a large detail from our little Marine Corps made their landing in the early part of June, and were suddenly assailed by a strong force of Spanish troops, who were sheltered in the thick forests and chaparral everywhere covering the sea bench, the foot hills and the mountains beyond. Though the marines were at first surprised, they were not for a moment shaken, but rallying their forces pushed out against the enemy. From the narrow bit of flat land which by courtesy we may call a beach, thickset with cactus plants and wild, thorny vines, there rises a knoll about a hundred and thirty feet high, upon which the Spaniards, with their usual keenness in organizing defence, had established a square blockhouse or small fort. Aided by the guns of the navy, the marines routed the occupants of this defensive work and established themselves upon the hill. Here and in the surrounding jungle the engagements of June 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th were fought, which resulted in the death of Surgeon Gibbs, of the navy, and several marines.

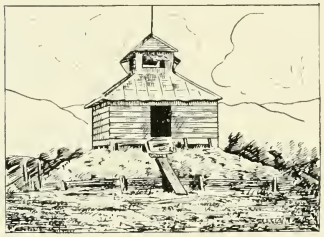


Fig. 19
A square Spanish blockhouse.

After the enemy had been defeated and entirely driven from the vicinity, the hill was occupied as a permanent post by the Marine Corps under Lieut.-Col. Huntington, who, in conjunction with the Cuban scouts under Col. Thomas, held the position, not only because of its strategic value, but because it

commanded an important cable station which gave communication with the United States. The site proved a healthful one, and it is worthy of record that although it was occupied during the entire summer, not a single marine died from the effects of climatic or other fevers.

The seizure of this point resulted from the necessity of having a secure place in which the American fleet could anchor, especially while coaling and repairing. The southern coast of Cuba is exposed to strong easterly winds during the summer, which cause heavy swells against the precipitous shore. It was this that made the subsequent landing of the Fifth Army Corps at Daiquiri and Siboney so difficult, and but for a fortunate modification of the winds at the time of disembarkation, as I heard General Shafter remark at a public dinner, would have utterly ruined our plans or have involved serious disaster, if not defeat. Secretary Long suggested Guantanamo Bay as a coaling base, and as early as May 28th Admiral Sampson directed its seizure. This was not done, however, until he arrived on the scene to take personal command.

The hill on the eastern point of the entrance to the bay was bombarded by the *Yankee* and the blockhouse on its summit destroyed. On June 18th Captain McCalla, of the *Marblehead*, seized the place, and lay off the mouth of the bay to command its approach, a fact which led to the naming of the station formed shortly afterwards, "Camp McCalla." On June 10th, Captain Riter arrived with the *Panther*, bringing Lieut.-Col. Huntington and about six hundred marines, who were disembarked under the guns of the navy and occupied the height vacated by the enemy. On the following afternoon (Saturday) the Spaniards crept up from the adjacent hills, through the thick scrub that here everywhere covers the

surface, and began the guerilla attacks, which continued until their final dislodgment on June 14th.

Night was commonly chosen for these attacks because their hiding places in the woods and chaparral were then so well concealed that they could not be shelled by the fleet with much advantage. The assaults were made from various points at once, and so continuously that the marines were kept alert night and day. Little rest was possible for them until the crest was secured by entrenchments and breastworks, and the machine and rapid-fire guns were put in position.

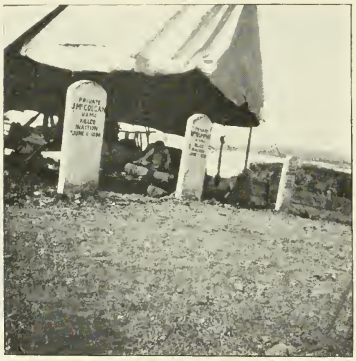


FIG. 20

The Graves of Surgeon Gibbs (the furthest to the right) and of Privates McColgan and Dumphy, Marines' Hill.

The fighting closed with the expedition under Captain Elliott, who, on June 14th, led a battalion of marines and Cuban scouts to Cuzco, a site among the mountains, six miles distant, where were a Spanish heliograph station for signalling to Fort Caimanera and the spring which supplied water for the Spanish troops. After sharp fighting the enemy was dislodged with heavy loss. The station was destroyed and the well filled up. Immediately afterward Captain McCalla, with the *Marblehead*, *St. Louis*, and *Texas*, sailed up the Bay to Fort Caimanera and the enemy were driven back upon Guantanamo City. Thus, Admiral Sampson was in possession of a secure, healthy and beautiful

harbor in which to coal and repair his ships, and to serve as a general rendezvous.

The white tents of the marines were aligned along the slopes and across the reddish crest of the hill, and one section of the Corps with the hospital tents under Surgeon Eagan, occupied the beach near the Cubans. From the beach to the summit wound a road beaten by the continuous passing of the men, showing as a broad, gray strip amid the green. From the sides of the hill and from the surface immediately surrounding, the scrub had been trimmed out or cut away to prevent bushwacking tactics by guerillas. In the gangway between the last wall tent and the next to the last, on the west side of the company street that crosses the summit, Col. Huntington pointed out the grave of Surgeon Gibbs. It is marked by a plain white wooden headboard, which bears his name, rank and date of death. The graves of privates McColgan and Dumphy, the first men killed in the invasion, are side by side with Surgeon Gibbs', and all the headboards are close to the adjoining tent. (Fig. 20.)* The marine who lay reading on the board floor, his head pillowed upon his blanket roll, could have touched it with his hand, and seemed quite undisturbed by the close companionship of his silent comrades. No mound marked the graves. The red gravel lay smooth and flat upon the surface, and men passed to and fro above the bodies beneath.

"No, it does not strike them as irreverent," said Col. Huntington, in reply to a question. "We buried the dead under fire, and of necessity just here near where we could do so safely. We had no thought at that time that this hill would be made a fixed camp; and when the order came to that effect,

* This cut and Fig. 24 are from photographs by Quartermaster W. H. Harris, of the U. S. S. *Resolute*.

we had to leave these three graves among the tents. Our men must come and go, and they mean no harm. Besides, it does not trouble *them*." He pointed to the gravelly path beneath which the silent heroes slept.

Thence through the tall grass a path leads over the summit of the hill to a little burial plot (Fig. 21). It is about forty yards from the crest, and contains thirteen graves arranged in two rows. (See Chart, Fig. 29.) The heads look down the

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 21—Cemetery on Marines' Hill. Photograph by Chief Master-of-Arms Howard Wilson, U. S. S. Vixen.

Fig. 22—Graves of Surgeon Gibbs and Privates McColgan and Dumphy, just before the return of the Marine Corps.

slope toward the ravine and the face of the mountain rising beyond; a beautiful spot, indeed, and rarely meet for a warrior's burial if duly tempered by the hand of art. In the upper row are two unmarked graves which contain Cuban soldiers of Col. Thomas' battalion. The first (No. 7 of the plot) fell in the fight with the Spaniards while coöperating with the marines, the other (No. 8) died of malarial sickness after the engagement. It is noteworthy that this man, to the manner born, was

the only one of the eight or nine hundred encamped here who died from malarial fever, the marines having had entire exemption therefrom.

Mr. Carlton T. Chapman, a special war correspondent, gave a graphic account of the burial of the Cuban soldier above referred to as killed in the Guantanamo fight. About 10.30 a procession of boats left the *Marblehead* and moved into the landing. First came a cutter, with officers and armed men, and then a steam launch towing a boat with men in bow and stern, and amidship a silent figure covered with a flag, a Cuban who had been wounded the day before and had died on the ship. The boats landed at the little pier. A bugler sounded a few notes of the Dead March, and the column moved slowly up the brown hill. Flags were half-masted, and the soldier who had died bravely for "Cuba libre" was laid to rest beside the others who had given their lives for his cause as well as for their own starry flag. There was a brief silence, and then a volley of musketry, which marked the end, and the bugles blew a quickstep as the sailors and marines marched back to their quarters.

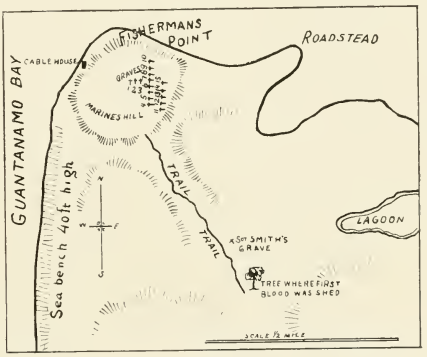


FIG. 23

Marines' Hill, showing location of places of burial.

On board the *Dolphin*, in the great cool wardroom, now shorn of its luxurious fittings, lay three other Cubans, one very

badly wounded, but being cared for by the good doctors. A fine-looking black fellow, done up in bandages and lying patiently on the long divan, opened his eyes as the writer gazed sympathetically at him for a minute, and then smiled in a proud way, as a soldier should who knew he had done his duty.*

The first grave in the upper row of this little cemetery is that of Sergt.-Major Good, of the Marine Corps, and at his side is Chief Yeoman Ellis, of the U. S. S. *Brooklyn*, Commodore Schley's flag ship, the single fatal casualty in the sea fight of July 3, 1898, that annihilated Cervera's fleet. At Ellis' head is a high board painted brown. The graves of the marines and sailors are marked with white boards inscribed and erected under direction of Captain Riter of the U. S. S. *Panther*. Rear Admiral Schley, in an interesting interview, gave the following account of the death of Chief Yeoman Ellis :

"Ellis was from the city of Brooklyn," said the Commodore, "a bright young fellow who enlisted to go before the mast. He was a hard worker, studied navigation with the young officers of the ship, and rose to the rank of yeoman. As I stood talking with Captain Cook, while we finished the *Vizcaya*, it seemed that our shots were falling a little short. I turned to Ellis, who stood near, and asked him what was the range. He replied, 'Seventeen hundred yards.' I have pretty keen eyesight and it seldom deceives me as to distances, and I told him that I thought it was slightly more than that.

"'I just took it, sir,' was the answer, 'but I'll try again.' He stepped off to one side, about eight feet, to get the range. He had just raised his instrument to his eye when a shell struck him full in the face and carried off all of his head above the

* *Harper's Weekly*, July 9, 1898.

mouth. Shells are queer things," continued the Commodore, after a moment's silence. "I noticed one man standing with his hand grasping a hammock rail as a shell struck the ship, ricocheted, and burst. One piece of the metal cut the rail on one side of his hand ; another on the other side, so that he was left standing with a short section of the rail still grasped in his

FIG 24
Burial at sea, on Admiral Sampson's flagship, the New York.

hand. Another portion of the shell passed over his shoulder and another between his legs. He was surprised, but was not hurt."*

The plan and list will show that only two marines are buried in this plot, the others being sailors from the *Oregon*,

* Charles Morris, "The War with Spain."

Marblehead, *Prairie*, *Hornet*, *Brooklyn* and *Vulcan*, and one soldier from the 34th Michigan Volunteers. The sailors died while the fleet was riding in the bay or cruising near shore, and thus were laid to sleep beneath the palms on the kindly bosom of our common mother Earth, instead of being committed to the deep, the usual sepulchre of seaman who die at sea. (Fig. 24.) I am indebted to Major Charles L. McCawley and Adjutant Herbert L. Draper, of the Marine Corps, for lists, plans and information, and to Captain C. M. Chester, U. S. N., of the *Cincinnati*, for a corrected and complete list of graves and inscriptions on headboards, and also for plan and photographs made under direction of 1st Lieut. John A. Lejeune, U. S. Marine Corps. The plan (Fig. 23) was made by Yeoman E. Fischer, U. S. N., and the photographs (Figs. 22, 25) were taken by Hospital Steward F. R. Graham, U. S. N.

In addition to the above is the grave of Sergt. C. H. Smith, which is about half a mile from the summit of Marine Hill and about twenty yards from the trail. (Fig. 25.) The tree under which Privates McColgan and Dumphy were killed, the first fatalities in the Spanish-American War, is about fifty yards further on. These sentinels were out on advanced picket, their duty being to give notice at once in the event of the enemy's appearance. About 4 p. m., January 11th, the enemy, Spanish guerillas, crawled up to within ten yards of them in thick chaparral. They carried out their orders, and notified their picket by firing at the Spaniards. They were both instantly killed, one being shot twenty-one times and the other sixteen times. The guerillas, in their frenzy, shot them all to pieces, so that the Cuban colonel with the marines said that they had been mutilated with machetes. This rumor was spread through the United States, and caused vast indignation. But

the statement, as above made by Adjutant Herbert, exonerates the Spanish soldiers from the odious charge of mutilating the bodies of the slain.

Sergeant-Major Henry Good was killed during the night attack of June 12th. A Mauser bullet passed through his body. His only words after being shot were, "*Let me go to my duty!*" He died in ten minutes. No nobler motto could be expressed than that which fell from this gallant soldier's dying lips. That it was the unconscious utterance of one wounded to the death is an indication of the lofty character of the man who, in an hour when all disguises are impossible, thus voiced the controlling motive of his life and, one might add, the controlling motive of his comrades in every branch of the service. Never did men more willingly, honorably and conscientiously go to their duty in the face of danger than the American soldiers, sailors and marines who maintained their country's honor during the Spanish-American war.

FIG. 25

The grave of Sergeant Charles H. Smith on the trail east of Marines' Hill.

Sergeant Charles H. Smith was shot through the breast while acting as Sergeant of the picket post, and was instantly killed early in the evening of June 11th, while with Lieutenant Neville's troops. The men of this picket withstood attacks of

the enemy all night. On being relieved in the morning, the marines started back about nine o'clock with the body of Sergeant Smith, but being attacked by the enemy in superior force they were obliged to abandon their dead comrade in order to defend themselves. Owing to the almost constant assaults of the Spaniards made on June 12th and 13th, the body had to be left, as the effort to bring it to the hill would have cost the lives of several of the marines. After the complete defeat of the Spaniards on June 14th, the Sergeant was buried on the spot where his body had been laid down upon the trail, a course which was made necessary by the long period which had intervened since his death. It had been intended to bury him in a space left between the graves of Surgeon Gibbs and Private Dumphy.

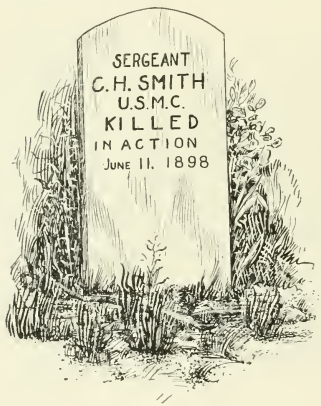


FIG. 26

Headboard at Sergeant Smith's grave.

The circumstances attending the killing of Surgeon Gibbs are as follows: A vicious attack was made on the camp about one o'clock in the morning of June 12th, three sides of the position being engaged. The fire was heavy both on the part of the Americans and of the Spaniards. Many of the bullets of the latter were cutting through the tents. This led Dr. Gibbs to remark to Dr. Edgar, with whom he was sitting at the time in one of the hospital tents, "Let us get out of this. I do not want to be killed here." Dr. Edgar advised that all the sick

who were able to go, and the hospital attendants who, like the doctors, were unarmed, had better make for an entrenchment (Fig. 28) around the destroyed Spanish blockhouse which was on the brow of the hill behind the commanding officer's tent, and about forty feet in front of the hospital tents. They started, but Surgeon Gibbs got only ten feet away from the door of his tent when a Spanish bullet coming from a distance of six or eight hundred yards struck him in the head, going in one temple and out of the other.

Capt. McCawley was within a few feet of the surgeon when he fell, and he and Col. Huntington went to the fallen man's side. At first they did not know who had been shot, the night was so dark. Two or three men joined in the examination of the body, and some one remarked that it was Dr. Edgar. Col. Huntington called for a match. Upon its being struck it was discovered that Dr. Gibbs was the person who had been hit. A glance showed that but a few moments of life remained. The Colonel directed that the surgeon be carried to the trench toward which he had been moving, and returned with Capt. McCawley to the firing line on the right flank. Three-quarters of an hour later Capt. McCawley passed by the trench and Surgeon Edgar and Surgeon McCormick, who had been summoned by signal from the *Panther*, informed him that Gibbs had died about half-past one.

During the burial of Surgeon Gibbs and Privates McColgan and Dumphy, the camp was attacked, and it seemed to Capt. McCawley that the enemy took advantage of the occasion to fire upon the party standing around the graves, which included a guard of honor, commanded by Lieut. Radford, attached to the *Texas*. This fire was returned by the men in the trenches and soon ceased. The funeral services were con-

ducted by Chaplain Jones of the *Texas*, who has published a graphic account of the burial. In one respect, however, his story is challenged by officers of the marines. The Chaplain states that the services were interrupted by the Spanish fire, and that he was advised by Col. Huntington to run for his life. Major McCawley remembers no such incident, though he was standing by Col. Huntington's side at the foot of the grave all

FIG. 27

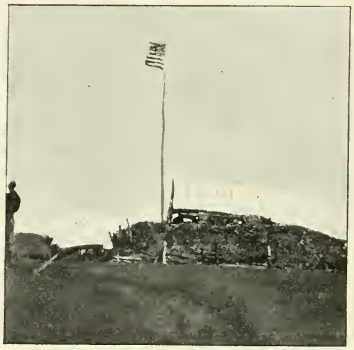


FIG. 28

Fig. 27—Grave of Surgeon Gibbs after the return home of the Marine Corps; part of the adjoining grave also shown, and both are covered thickly with grass.
Fig. 28—American entrenchment over the site of Spanish blockhouse.

the time. All of the burial party noticed the fire, but Major McCawley remembers no one moving from around the grave until the service was completed.

The graves of these three persons were hastily dug by some of the men under Capt. McCawley's direction, and were only three feet deep, as it was impossible, under the circumstances, to dig them deeper. The three bodies were tied up in rubber blankets, Dr. Gibbs wearing the clothes in which he fell.

The other men had been deprived of their outer garments by the Spaniards who killed them. All the graves of the marines, and probably all others in this cemetery are not only marked by boards but have bottles placed in the ground at the head which contain the personal records of the slain. The losses in battle by the Marine Corps were six killed and twelve or fifteen wounded.

The views of the graves shown in the photographs sent from the U. S. S. *Cincinnati* differ from that of Fig. 20, which is as I saw them. The difference is explained by the fact that the former were taken after the removal of the marines from Camp McCalla. In a few weeks the gravelly gangway between the tents under which the three men lay, being untrodden by passing feet that kept down the vegetation, were overgrown with rank grass. As shown by Fig. 22, the marines had rounded up their comrades' graves into seemly mounds ere they bade a last farewell. The inscriptions upon the headboards of the graves on Marines' Hill are as follows:

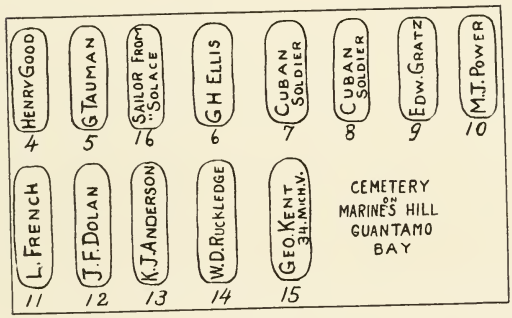


Fig. 29

Plot of the burying ground on Marines' Hill.

No. 1. Private J. McColgan, U. S. M. C. Killed in action June 11, 1898.

No. 2. Private Wm. Dumphy, U. S. M. C. Killed in action, June 11, 1898.

No. 3. Act. Asst. Surgeon John B. Gibbs, U. S. N. Killed in action, June 12, 1898.

No. 4. Sergeant-Major Henry Good, U. S. M. C. Killed in action, June 13, 1898. The High standing of Sergt.-Major Good in the Marine Corps is shown by the fact that the officers of the battalion, have erected a bronze tablet to his memory. It bears the seal and motto—"Semper Fidelis"—of the Corps, and is inscribed: "In Honor and Memory of Sergeant-Major Henry Good of the First Marine Battalion, who was killed in Action near Santa Catalina de Guantanamo Cuba, June XII, MDCCCXCVIII. Erected by the Officers of the Battalion."

No. 5. Private G. Taurman, U. S. M. C. Killed June 13, 1898.

No. 6. G. H. Ellis, Chief Yeoman, U. S. Navy, native of Peoria, Ill., U. S. A. Born Oct. 25, 1875. Killed in action on board U. S. F. S. *Brooklyn*, July 3, 1898.

No. 7. An unknown Cuban soldier, mortally wounded by the Spaniards while supporting the marines.

No. 8. Unknown Cuban soldier who died of malaria.

No. 9. Edward Gratz, Chief Master at Arms, U. S. S. *Oregon*. Born Nov. 13, 1846. Died Aug. 4, 1898. Aged 51 years 9 mths.

No. 10. In memory of M. J. Power, Shipwright U. S. N. Died on board U. S. S. *Marblehead*, Aug. 30, 1898.

No. 11. In memory of Lynward French, Chief Boatswain's Mate U. S. S. *Prairie*, died Aug. 9, 1898.

No. 12. John F. Dolan, U. S. S. *Hornet*, died July 5, 1898.

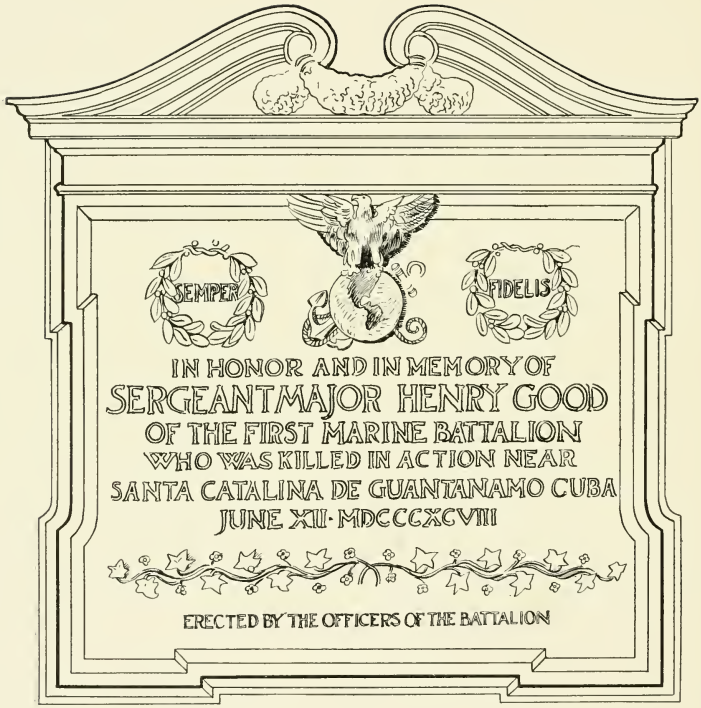
No. 13. Karl J. Anderson, Seaman U. S. Navy. Born July 27, 1874. Died on board U. S. S. *Brooklyn*, July 27, 1898. Age, 24 years.

No. 14. Wm. D. Ruckledge, Chief Mach. U S. N. Died Aug. 11, 1889. Born March 31, 1876, Lowell, Mass.

No. 15. Private George Kent, Co. A, 34th Mich. Volunteers. Died Aug. 27, 1898.

No. 16. An unknown sailor, who is supposed to have died upon the *Solace*.

No. 17. Sergeant Chas. H. Smith, U. S. Marine Corps. Killed in action, June 11, 1898.


SEMPER
FIDELIS
IN HONOR AND IN MEMORY OF
SERGEANTMAJOR HENRY GOOD
OF THE FIRST MARINE BATTALION
WHO WAS KILLED IN ACTION NEAR
SANTA CATALINA DE GUANTANAMO CUBA
JUNE XII · MDCCCXCVIII
ERECTED BY THE OFFICERS OF THE BATTALION

Chapter IV

The Battle Ridge of San Juan

The Battle Ridge of San Juan

FROM the eastern point of Cape Maysi to Santiago de Cuba, or as the natives call it simply "Cuba," is about one hundred miles. The sail from Guantanamo along the coast continually opens up new beauties as the knolls and peaks and rolls and ravines of the Sierra Maestra are gradually unfolded. As one approaches Santiago he sees the breaks in the bordering bench that follows the shore, which form the landing places of Daiquiri and Siboney familiar now as the points where the American army of invasion disembarked. The mountains closely hug the sea and present a seemingly impenetrable front, and one is almost under the gray walls of the venerable castle El Morro, which crowns a cliff two hundred feet above the sea level, before he sees the rift in the high coast which forms the entrance to Santiago Harbor (See Map, Fig. 31). It is only one hundred and eighty feet wide, and as one sails in he can toss a biscuit into the castle which the Spanish soldier De La Rocca built in 1640. On the opposite side, the battery of Socapa crowns the hill. The old books speak of a castle there, but from the ship's deck no such object nor any trace thereof can be discerned.

On the summit of the Morro cliff (July 25, 1898) near the dismantled eastern battery, a small American flag floated on a low staff. Nearby a native Cuban, the only occupant of the castle premises, looked down stolidly upon our passing ship, while a scraggy pony at his side grazed upon the fat herbage.

Above the scene towered the round shaft of the lighthouse, its lantern shattered into fragments and its sides filled with gaping wounds of battle. The gunners of the American fleet appear to have made this object a special target, the striking of which was a test of their gunnery. Almost in the mouth of the harbor lay the wreck of the Spanish warship, *Reina Mercedes*, showing great gaps in her armor which the American shells had pierced. Across her deck was seen the star-shaped battery of La Estrella, and a little further on the two masts and smoke-stack of the *Merrimac* were thrust above the surface. The buoys that had supported the Spanish torpedoes which mined the harbor still clung to the shore and stretched outward upon the water.

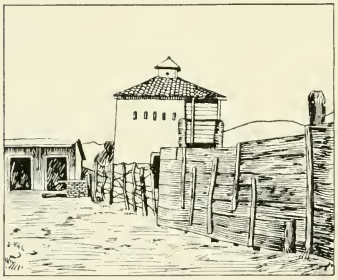


FIG. 30

Spanish blockhouse on the northeast of Santiago, protected by a wire and a wooden fence.

Here and there on the palm-crowned heights, admirable coigns of vantage, were Spanish blockhouses; and off to the right, two or three miles eastward, across the sea bench, but shut out from view by the high walls, were the camps of the Fifth Army Corps. Only the far western line of circumvallation was in view, its white tents, with the blue smoke of camp-fires curling above them, nestled at the base of the foot-hills of the Sierra del Cobre range.

Just off the city pier the American transports crowded the harbor, having thronged in a week before when the city was formally turned over to the United States. They were waiting

to unload the long delayed and much needed supplies that already were piled in great heaps upon the wharf. Around these native stevedores and American soldiers were hovering and flitting like bees upon honey. Ambulances and trains of pack mules were coming and going, stretching in a long line through the cobbled city streets and along the muddy road to the camp. Our ship's boat left us at the landing of the pretty boat-house of the Club Nautica, which had just been converted into a hospital. It was crowded with soldiers suffering with various forms of fever, all lying in their soiled shirts and trousers upon the bare floor, their heads supported upon their blanket rolls or upon a rolled-up coat, or lying flat with no support upon the boards or on the gangway and porches outside.

We stepped out upon the broad Alameda with its central avenue of royal palms and passed through throngs of squalid natives, men, women and children, who were gathering for the distribution of soup and bread by the Red Cross Society of Miss Clara Barton, whose headquarters were near the quay. That noble lady was herself at the place directing relief operations for the citizens. We turned into the Calle Marina, and ascending through sights and smells of filthiness that nauseated one fresh from the pure sea-breezes, to the Plaza de Armas, entered the low building known as the Municipal Palace. The flag that was run up on "Surrender Day" still floated from the entrance to the headquarters of Major-General Shafter and of General Wood, the Military Governor.

Armed with a pass from the Commanding General, signed by Lieut.-Col. McClernand, one is prepared to visit the American army. Mounted on an easy-gaited Spanish pony, the journey is not difficult. One climbs the steep slope on which Santiago is built, passes the Church and Plaza of Dolores,

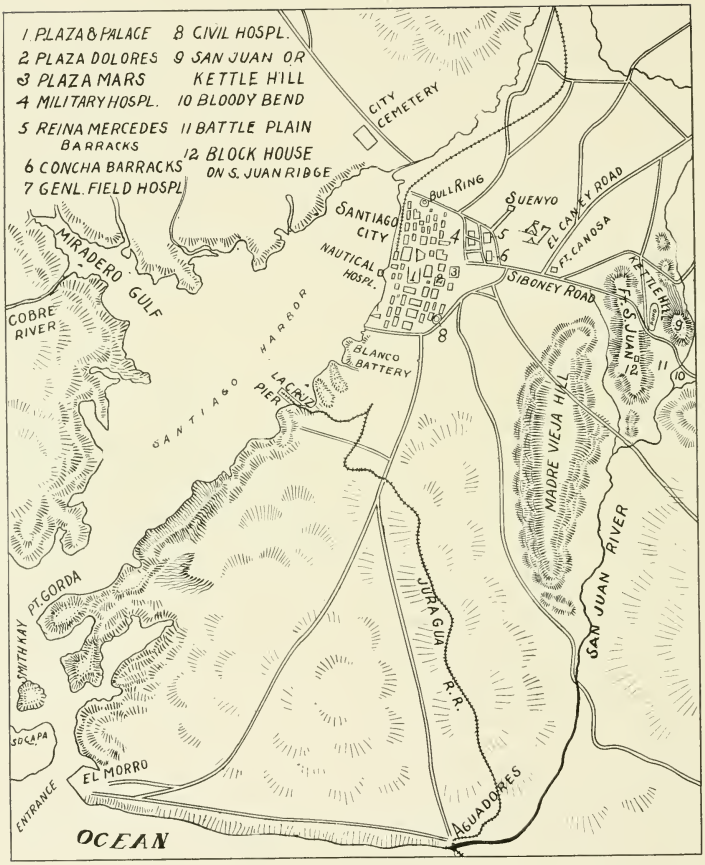


FIG. 31

Map of Santiago Harbor, to show the relative location of the San Juan battlefield and other important points.

crosses the Plaza of Mars, and finds himself in the straggling suburbs of the city. Here, the houses are low stucco huts with thatched roofs, instead of with roofs of curved red tiles, the common mode. On the porches are groups of Spanish soldiers or men in the soiled white uniform of Cuban insurgents, or bevies of children of both sexes and all shades of color, and

FIG. 32

Broken breastwork or earthen barricade in a Santiago street.

various stages of nudity, their round abdomens and wan faces in many cases showing scant nutrition. The tokens of a besieged city are everywhere present. Blockhouses guard the military crests. Wire fences and elaborate entanglements in varying stages of wreckage are on either hand. Deep furrows are cut across the streets, showing where rifle pits had been hastily attempted. Here and there is a bisected breastwork

which had been built across the way by throwing up the street soil and buttressing it with barrels and boxes filled with earth and stones. In one breastwork a gangway had been cut through for traffic, leaving humps on either side. (Fig. 32.) At another the barricade had been partly dug down, leaving a huge winrow over which the wagons rolled.

Fig. 33
The Church and Plaza of Dolores, Santiago.

Leaving to the left the Spanish Military Hospital and the Spanish Quarters, now occupied by the Fifth Infantry of Regulars, one descends the crest of the hill, and turning eastward finds himself before the pickets of the Fifth Army Corps at the

blockhouse known as El Canosa. Here the road forks. The one to the left bears toward Caney, and that to the right leads to the main encampment of our troops and the battlefield of San Juan.

The Province of Santiago de Cuba is predominately a mountainous region of high relief, especially along the coasts, with many interior valleys.* The field of the famous battles of July 1, 1898, resembles one of these valleys, but is circumscribed from the sea bench by the Sierra Maestra, and is about two hundred feet above sea level. It is entered from the south by trails that lead through passes in the mountains, or over notches in the shoulders of the foothills, from Aguadores or from Siboney (Ensenada de las Altares), the furthest eastward point, which is also reached by a road over the sea bench from Daiquiri. As one passes over the mountain wall and stands upon the crest, he looks down upon an amphitheatrical valley which, roughly speaking, is six miles in diameter. Sweeping to the east and north the mountain wall of the coast range touches with its base the village of Caney. Continuing northward and westward it reaches the heights that look down upon the city of Santiago and upon which the straggling suburbs are built. On the west the amphitheatre is bounded by the eastern wall of the harbor and bay. The valley is covered with dense tropical foliage, amidst which tower groves of royal palms and cocoanuts, and clusters of the magnificent mango, while the guasima, the bamboo and other Cuban trees, dot the abandoned fields and fringe the banks of the streams that thread the valley at many points with lines of silver water. The surface is irregularly knotted with low wooded ridges and rounded knolls that rise from its bosom and give noble points of view of the beautiful landscape.

* Prof. R. T. Hill, "Cuba and Porto Rico." p. 46.

Standing upon one of these summits the eye sees the mountain wall sweeping around him to the north, east and west, while in the far distance lofty peaks and crests shimmer in misty blue against the brilliant sky. Not far away to the eastward La Gran Piedra sends up its rocky summit, a gigantic block of conglomerate fifty-two hundred feet high. Beyond the city westward, and far off toward the spot where the iron skeleton of the *Cristobol Colon* moulders against the rock-bound coast, Pico del Turquino ("the Turk's Head") lifts its cloud-enfolded turban eighty-six hundred feet above the sea. Turning towards the near Santiago hills, the vision is crossed by the longest of the traversing ridges, which bears the now historic name of San Juan. It begins quite near the San Juan River on the south, and extends northward for nearly a mile, gradually dipping into a level mead, which follows the base of the ridge its entire length.

Before the southern shoulder this broadens out and forms the wide battle plain on which Gen. Kent's infantry division charged upon the Spanish entrenchments. Midway of the ridge the road from Santiago is cut through a slight depression, and descending the slope skirts a little lagoon well known among the American soldiers as "the Pond." (See Folder I, Fig. 34.) This sheet of water empties into a branch of the San Juan River, which stretches eastward and then northward toward its sources, skirting the two sides of a round knoll that rises just opposite the point where the road breaks through the ridge. This knoll I have heard called variously "San Juan Hill," "Kettle Hill," "Blue House Hill," "Sugar House Hill," "Rough Riders' Hill" and "San Juan House Hill." Over this elevation Wheeler's Cavalry Division charged, Gen. Sumner being then in direct command, and Col. Roosevelt with his

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Rough Riders in the van. The dismounted cavalrymen having won the position pushed down the western slope of Kettle Hill, through or around the edge of the pond to the ridge beyond, and joined the infantry division in capturing its entrenched heights. (See Map Diagram, Fig. 36.) The graves that mark their trail, and which are most numerous on the eastern and southern slopes, show at what a heavy cost in human life the rounded height of Kettle Hill was won.

The view of the battle ridge from Kettle Hill is strikingly beautiful, and shows the entire line of assault and defence. The photographic folder (Fig. 34) reproduces the scenery accurately. The entire San Juan Ridge is in view, the rifle-pits and breastworks still intact, and the tents of the 9th Volunteer Infantry ("Immunes") covered most of the space at the time the photographs were taken. Westward is seen the fine prospect of the hills and mountains that encompass Santiago. The road to Santiago known as the Siboney (or Pozo) Road, which climbs the northern shoulder of the ridge, is just discernible in the picture. Several army trails are seen winding around the foot of the hill and reaching northward beyond the point where the ridge breaks down into the valley. Along these crests and in the levels near or at the foot, are scattered lonely graves and groups of graves of soldiers who fell in action or died in hospitals.

The right of this view covers the entire scene of action of Gen. Wheeler's division during the assault on San Juan Fort, except Kettle Hill, from the brow of which it was taken. On the left and in the background, beyond the trees that fringe the stream, is seen the plain over which Kent's division charged toward San Juan Ridge, and which is shown more fully on the photographic Folder II, Chapter V.

When I first visited the San Juan Ridge it was occupied by the Third Regiment U. S. Infantry. Lieut.-Col. Harbach was in command in the absence of Col. Page, who was seriously ill. He showed me over the ridge, pointing out the various spots of interest and indicating the lines along which the troops had charged over the plain. The scars of battle were fresh upon the landscape. The soil of the entrenchments showed as yellow as when first turned. The blockhouse, apparently a farm house converted into a fort (Fig. 35), was gone, and its site was marked by a mass of broken bits of red pottery, the fragments of tiles that had covered the roof. Every particle of wood and other material had disappeared, having either been consumed in campfires or carried off for souvenirs. The earthworks and rifle pits made by the Spaniards, and occupied and improved by the Americans, had scarcely changed in form and seeming since the memorable first three days of July.

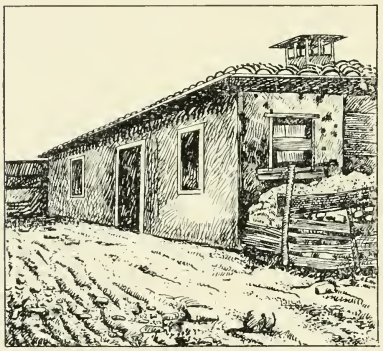

FIG. 35
The blockhouse on San Juan Ridge captured by Infantry Division

There was one notable exception. The deep trenches in front of the breastworks were level full of soil, and a broad band of yellow earth lay on the military crest. Beneath lie the bodies of the slain Spanish soldiers who so valiantly defended and fell at their post of duty. They lie uncoffined, side by side,

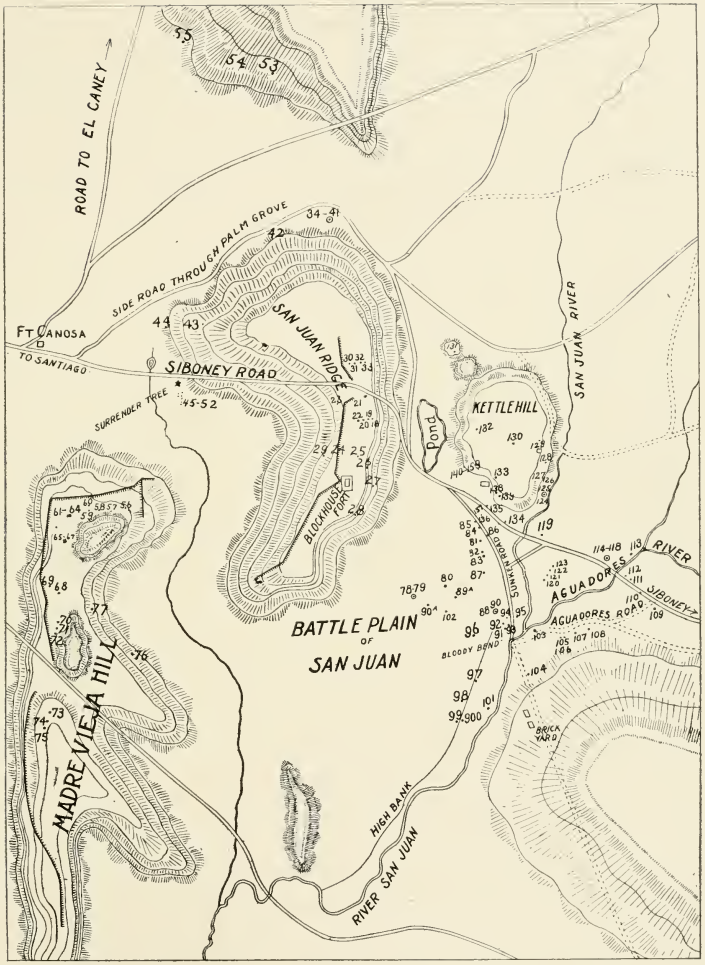

FIG. 36

Map and chart showing the approximate location of the martial graves on and around San Juan Heights.

and their brave foes, who buried them, gave them to their last sleep with that rude but hearty and reverent honor which valor never withholds from valor. The matrons and maids of Spain vainly await their coming. But some day their generous foemen will join with their mother-land in a fitting memorial to these "unknown dead."

I have referred to Col. Page, the gallant commander of the Third Regiment, as having been seriously ill when I first visited San Juan Ridge, then occupied by his command. I found him on board the transport *Iroquois* when returning to the States. He was greatly reduced in flesh and very feeble. When I visited him in his cabin he was lying on his berth in his fatigue uniform. From the time that he landed in Cuba at the head of his regiment up to the date of my visit he had not seen his personal baggage. The suit in which he landed, and in which he marched and fought the battle of San Juan nearly four weeks before, was all that he could command. He said nothing of this to me, but I saw that his situation was that of nearly all the officers in the Fifth Army Corps whose trunks and traveling bags were still stowed away in United States transports lying off the coast or swinging to and fro between Cuba and the United States. I slipped into my cabin and returned with some clean handkerchiefs and a night shirt. As I turned them over to the sick man, he sat up in his couch, and taking the night dress by both hands, held it out and with mingled tears and smiles, exclaimed, "Good Lord, Chaplain! a clean night shirt! I haven't seen one since I landed in Cuba. I shall sleep in clean, cool clothes to-night! This is heaven—or something very like it. Thank you, thank you!" He was trembling with weakness and pleasurable excitement, not without a grim sense of the absurdity of a

situation that caused a man of his exalted rank to be grateful for a few clean clothes!

I count myself well seasoned by contact with all sorts of trying experiences, but this was a little too much for me, and I hurried from the cabin, leaving this eminent soldier and cultivated gentleman to enjoy the luxury of a clean night dress in his sickness. On my final return from Santiago, two months thereafter, I found a little bundle containing the returned goods and a letter from Mrs. Page, as full of gratitude for this trifling service as if some great favor had been done. God bless us all! What a comfort it is to do the smallest kindness to these noble army people! When I visited the President (August 6, 1898) on my arrival home, among other experiences I told him this little incident to illustrate the hardships which officers and men had to endure in the Cuban campaign. It is not to the discredit of His Excellency that in sympathy with the Santiago hero the tear-dew tempered his smiles as he pictured the gallant colonel of the Third Infantry uttering his semi-humorous and wholly pathetic monologue over the luxury of a clean night shirt! What was still more to the point the good President subsequently dropped the star of a brigadier-general upon the old soldier's shoulder.

List and Description of Graves

One turns from the main Siboney Road into a well-beaten wagon trail that crosses the summit of San Juan Ridge. Eastward of this trail, about one hundred yards from the road, on the hill slope and near the head of a small ravine is a group of four graves. They are side by side, close to one another, the heads towards the north. The names of the fallen heroes who sleep within them are as follows:

No. 18. "Reuben S. Ingles, 20th Infantry, Company A.

Died July 12th, 1898. Rest in Peace." The grave with this inscription is the lowest on the slope toward the plain. The official list gives the date of his death as August 12th, and spells the name "Ingle."

No. 19. "Albert Tervehn, Company I, 20th Infantry. Died Aug. 5th, 1898." The inscription is cut upon a curved tile taken doubtless from the old blockhouse, and other tiles are

Fig. 37

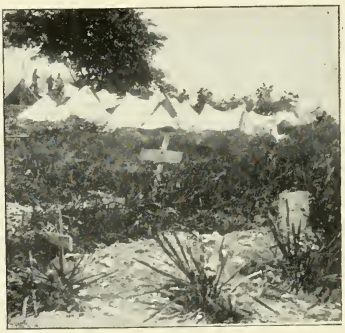

Fig. 38

Fig. 37—Grave of Albert Tervehn.
Fig. 38—Graves of Sergeant McCarthy and Michael Daly, San Juan Ridge.

laid as a border at the foot and around the edges of the mound. This name is omitted from the official list. (Fig. 37.)

No. 20. "Sergt. James F. McCarthy, Light Battery K, 1st Artillery." His grave appears in the photograph at the side of Michael Daly's. A board with the inscription is at the head and a cross at the foot. He was killed July 1st, 1898 (Fig. 38). His grave is nearest the front of the picture.

No. 21. Private Reuben Ross, Company M, 71st New York Volunteers. Killed July 2d, 1898. Harry Morse, Company

H, 71st New York Infantry, residence 63 Lindenwood Street, Philadelphia, says that Private Ross, Company M, 71st New York Infantry, was killed July 2d in the night attack, and buried by the side of Michael Daly. There was a cross on his grave. Morse says he saw him buried. I do not remember noting any suggestion of a vacant space such as the above fact would require. But Morse's statement was so definite and emphatic that I enter the name. On the official list "Reuben Ross, Private, Company M, 71st New York Volunteers" appears as having died "July 2d." This is doubtless the same person, wherever buried.

Here lies the Body of MICHAEL DALY
Co M 71st Regt N.Y. VOLS.
An Irishman by birth, an American by adoption
He died bravely fighting for his Country
R.I.P.

FIG. 39
Cross on Michael Daly's Grave.

No. 22. Michael Daly, Company M., 71st New York Volunteer Infantry, died July 1, 1898. At the head of Daly's grave is a wooden cross, the standard being a stick, and the cross piece a bit of a box lid on which is written the following: "Here lies the body of Michael Daly, Co. M., 71st Regt. N. Y. Vols. An Irishman by birth, an American by adoption, he died bravely fighting for his country. R. I. P." (Fig. 39.)

No. 23. Further up the slope and a little southward an unknown body is interred. It was uncovered by one of the 9th U. S. Volunteers digging for a tent. The arm was disclosed, but no observation made that would determine identity,

Fig. 40

Grave of Frank Booth, 71st New York Infantry, San Juan Ridge.

not even of the uniform that might have shown to what army the man belonged.

No. 24. Proceeding still southward, not far from the crest on the eastern slope a small heap of stones marks the grave of Frank W. Booth, of the 71st New York Volunteers (Fig. 40). The cairn supports a T-shaped cross which is inscribed "Frank

W. Booth, Co. F, 71st N. Y. V. Died in action on July 1, 1898. May he rest in peace."

No. 25. Southward still, and about at the same elevation, is the grave of another soldier of the 71st New York Volunteers who, like Frank Booth, must have fallen in the wild charge

FIG. 41

Grave of Joseph Decker, 71st New York Volunteers, San Juan Ridge.

up the ridge and almost in the moment of victory (Fig. 41). The grave is inscribed "Jos. Decker, Co. I, 71st N. Y. Vols. July 1, 1898. A comrade." The full name is Joseph S. Decker. The mound slopes toward the east with the head well elevated. It is edged, but rather sparsely, with small stones over which the grass is waving. It is worth noting that there are more

graves of soldiers of the 71st New York Volunteers on the San Juan Ridge than of any other single regiment. Thus, at least a part of that organization has left the indisputable evidence that some of its soldiers followed the heroic charge to its victorious finish.

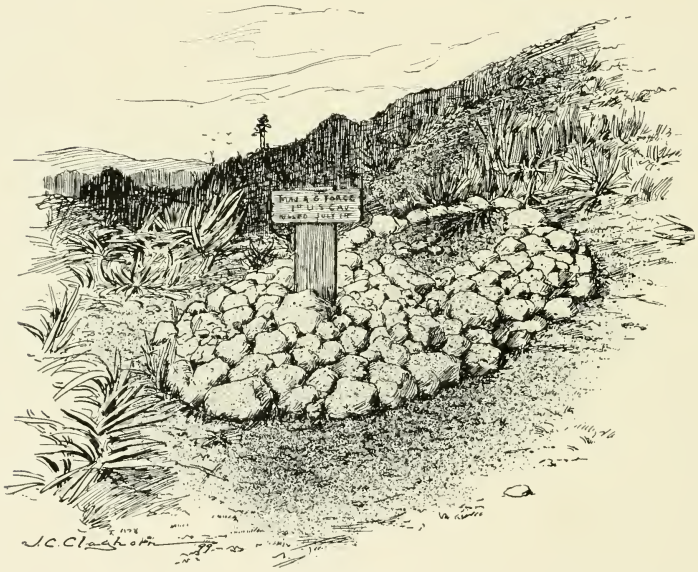

FIG. 42

Grave of Major Force, on San Juan Ridge. (*See also Fig. 16, Chapter II.*)

No. 26. A little below the above and slightly to the north is an unmarked grave.

No. 27. Continuing southward and still further down the slope at a point where the hill breaks in a slight distinct roll

and begins to trend towards the southwest is the grave of Major Albert G. Force, of the 1st U. S. Cavalry. It is a cairn of goodly size, a long mound covered with stones from the base to a point near the summit. (Fig. 42.) The top is uncovered soil except that a single line of stones curves from the headboard to the middle, where it touches the top of a once green fern-like plant, blackened with decay. The inscription on the rude footboard was simply: "Major A. G. Force, 1st U. S. Cav. Killed July 1st." When I visited this grave a few weeks later the wooden headboard had disappeared and a curved tile had been substituted, on which the inscription was carved. The surface of the mound had also been well covered with stones. A footpath down the hill passed close by the edge of the grave, and this had kept down the rank vegetation, but beyond, along the steep slope of the ridge, the weeds and grass were growing breast high. A photographic engraving of Maj. Force's grave is given, Chap. II, Fig. 16.

No. 28. Southwest of this point is the grave of Lieutenant Ord, whose tragic death at the hands of a wounded Spaniard, whom he was directing to be cared for, shocked and grieved the entire army. Lieut. Ord was one of Gen. Hawkins' aids and showed distinguished gallantry and efficiency. He climbed a tall cocoanut tree on the banks of the San Juan, and from his survey of the ridge gave Gen. Hawkins the first intelligent information of the Spanish defences. He took charge of a platoon of soldiers who were charging over the plain and had been somewhat demoralized by the loss of their officer. He led them, in the very front of the line, quite over the plain and up the ridge. While running over the rifle pit at the crest he saw a wounded Spaniard lying across the edge of the trench, and moved by compassion, even in the rush and flush of that

victorious moment, turned to direct that the Spaniard should be taken out of the line of fire and placed behind the block-house, where he would be safe. The Spaniard, who was apparently an officer, drew his pistol and discharged it in Lieut. Ord's face, blowing out his brains. The American soldiers, shocked and indignant at the deed, fell upon the assassin and clubbed him to death with the butts of their rifles. Ord was buried near by where he fell. One heard his death told everywhere throughout the Fifth Corps with varying details, but I have given the account that all agree upon.

Fig. 43

Grave of John K. Lindquist, 3d U. S. Infantry, San Juan Ridge.

No. 29. North of the Siboney Road about four hundred yards, on the military crest of the northern slope of San Juan Ridge, and between the lines of entrenchments are four graves. They lie in a row ranged east and west. The pond is in the plain below, somewhat to the southeast. The names are not only marked upon headboards but are also carved on a guasima tree near by, which stands opposite the grave of Andrew Ryd-

berg. The men were all members of the 3rd U. S. Infantry who died during the period succeeding the battle when that regiment occupied the heights.

No. 30. "John K. Lindquist, Artificer, Company C, 3rd United States Infantry. Died August 12th, 1898." The mound is bordered with stones, and in the centre is arranged a cross of white shells taken from the gravel thrown up in digging the grave. (Fig. 43.) On the official list he is entered as a private of Company C, above regiment.

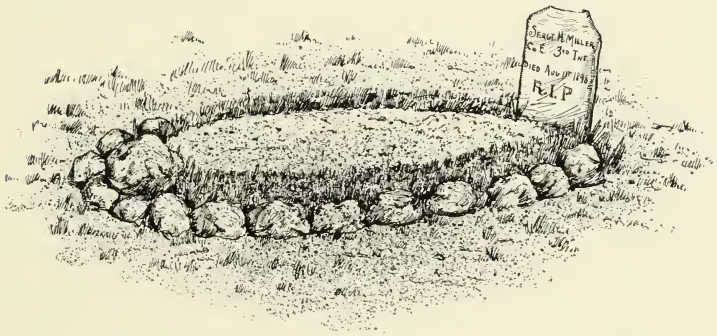

FIG. 44

Grave of Sergeant Henry Miller, 3d U. S. Infantry.

No. 31. "Andrew Rydberg, Died August 1st, 1898. R. I. P." This grave is in front of a guasima tree. (See Chap. II, Fig. 14.) A large stone is on either side of the headboard and one at the foot. A campaign hat rests above the bosom. The base of the mound has been edged all around with sod.

No. 32. "Sergeant H. Miller. Co. E, 3rd Infantry. Died August 1st, 1898. R. I, P." In the official list the death is given "August 11th." The mound is bordered at the base

with stones, a large stone being placed at the foot. Above and inside thereof is a fringe of sods whose green contrasts brightly with the stone border and the gravelly soil of the mound. (Fig. 44.)

No. 33. "Private A. H. Missall, Company F, 3d Infantry. Died August 12th, 1898." A large stone braces the head-board, and another boulder marks the foot. A fringe of sods is placed a little above the base, and a cross of white fresh-water shells is laid in the centre. (Fig. 45.) Missall's home is

Fig. 45

Grave of Adolph H. Missall, 3d U. S. Infantry.

Blue Earth City, Minnesota, and his body was removed about the middle of November, 1898, by his brother, Mr. Fred. Missall.

From the little cemetery of the Third Regular Infantry one passes northward and descends the brow of San Juan Ridge as it gradually declines into the valley. On the level land near the foot of the hill is a cemetery of eight graves of volunteers from Illinois and Michigan. It is about two hundred and fifty yards from the wagon trail or side road that curves around the extreme northern shoulder of the ridge (see Folder I, Fig. 34), communicating with various parts of the American encampment

and so passing on to the city of Santiago. About four hundred yards westerly toward the city, one passes through a large and beautiful grove of royal palm trees, and the drive through this grove gives one of the most interesting bits of tropical landscape seen in this vicinity. The graves are arranged around a small guasima tree, the feet pointing toward the trunk. A formicary of cutting ants is located near the tree, and their cuspidor-shaped tumuli are raised at various points near the grounds and between them and the tree.

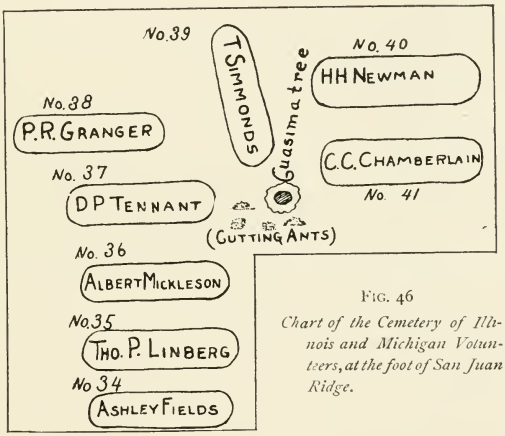

Fig. 46

Chart of the Cemetery of Illinois and Michigan Volunteers, at the foot of San Juan Ridge.

These interesting emmets were frequently observed in the neighborhood of Santiago. I could follow their long lines of foragers passing along their trails, which were laid with well-nigh the accuracy of human engineering through the thick grass and shrubbery. I even found them abundant on Morro Castle. When ascending the path that zigzags around the cliff to the summit, I saw columns of these creatures marching with bits of cut-off leaves in their mandibles and waving above their heads, a peculiarity which has given them the popular name of the "Parasol Ant." When I reached the summit the busy

workers were found close by the dismantled eastern battery. In fact, their fresh-made tumuli were cast up almost beneath the butt of the guns. The workers were thronging into the central gates bearing aloft their bits of green leaves, looking like a lilliputian army of Sunday-school scholars marching with their banners. I could not but wonder, were these industrious insects plying their task while Spanish guns were firing and

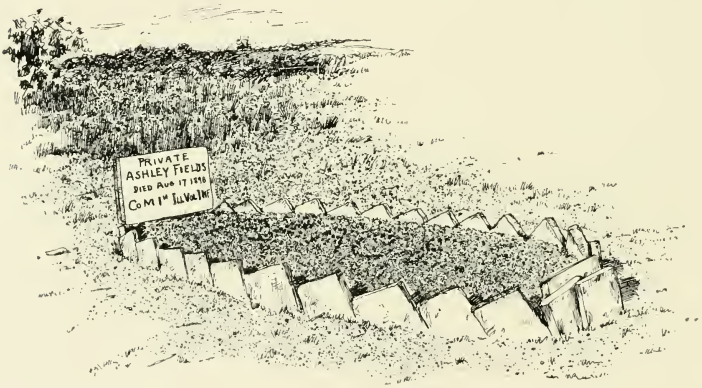

Fig. 47
Grave of Ashley Fields, 1st Illinois Volunteers.

shells from American ships were bursting around them? No doubt they did so; a type of the army of industry in the insect world, prosecuting its humble arts of peace amidst the roar of human battle and the clash of arms. If their wee bits of brains are capable of thinking of such matters, it is not unlikely that the current of their meditation may have flowed in the direction of the famous Shakesperian character whose utterance has given a motto to a modern illustrated journal: "What fools

these mortals be!"—maiming and killing one another when they might be comfortably cutting juicy leaves and chewing them into pulp!

List and Description of Graves

No. 34. "Private Ashley Fields. Died Aug. 17th, 1898. Co. M., 1st Ills. Vol. Inf." This grave has been decorated with

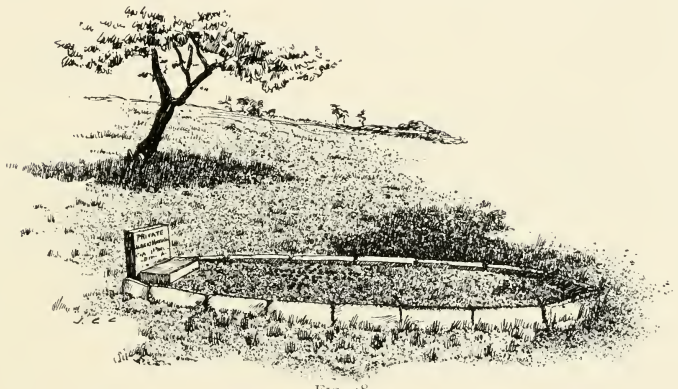

FIG. 48

Grave of Albert Mickelson, 1st Illinois Volunteers.

much care. (Fig. 47.) Tiles have been laid slanting-wise upon one another around the base, forming a denticulated edge. The headstone is carefully carved, and the word "PEACE" in large letters has been formed along the centre of the mound by cartridges and cartridge shells.

No. 35. "Private John B. Linberg, Co. F, 1st Inf. Illinois Vols. Died August 10th, 1898." Linberg's grave is partly walled around with brick tiles, and in the middle of the mound

are laid out with the circular caps of cartridges thrust into the earth, his company and regimental names thus: "Co. F 1st Ills." The inscription is on a pine wood headboard. (See Fig. 13, Chap. II.)

No. 36. "Private Albert Mickelson, Co. A, 1st Inf. Ill. Vol. Died at Division Hospital Aug. 8, 1898." Mickelson's grave is bordered with bricks laid on edge, the headstone is a large brick tile, and a cross in double lines of cartridges is traced on the breast. (Fig. 48).

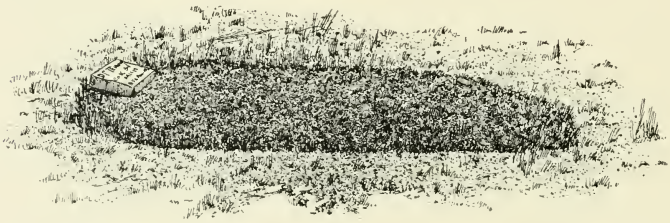

Fig. 49

Grave of Dallas P. Tennant, 34th Michigan Volunteers.

No. 37. "D. P. Tennant, Co. K. 34th Inf. Michigan. Died Aug. 3d, 1898." The grave of Tennant is an earthen mound with a large brick tile at the head on which the above inscription is carved (Fig. 49).

No. 38. "Private R. B. Granger (or Ganger) Co. D. 1st Ill. Vol. Died Aug. 22d, 1898." The upper part of this grave is supported by bricks on either side, the remainder being an earthen mound. The inscription is cut upon a brick laid slanting across the grave's head, and in cartridges the word Peace in large letters is laid off along the entire centre. (See Fig. 10.)

No. 39. "I. Simonds, 34th Mich. Aug. 20th, 1898. Band." It is doubtful whether the initial letter is I or T, and the name does not appear in the War Department's official list.

No. 40. "A. H. Newman, Co. B. U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 23d, 1898." A simple mound with a little cartridge cross on the bosom. This name does not appear on the official list of the War Department.

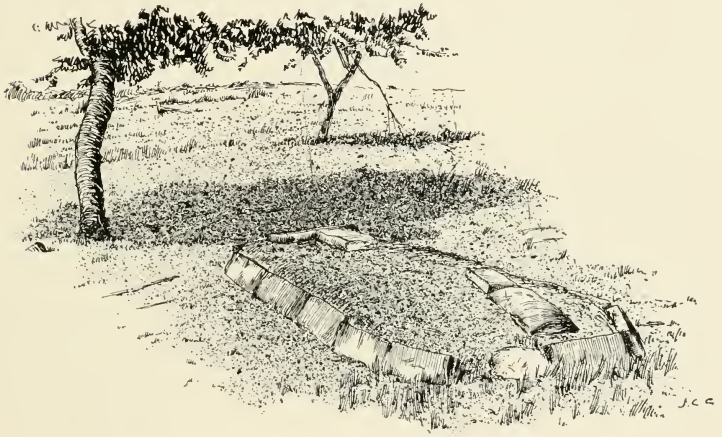

Fig. 50

Grave of Corporal Clarence C. Chamberlain, 34th Michigan Volunteers.

No. 41. "Corp. C. C. Chamberlain, Co. I, 34th Mich. Died Aug. 10, 1898." Chamberlain's grave has a brick enclosure and the inscription is carved on a brick at the head (Fig. 50).

No. 42. Westward from the above named group and quite near the road that leads to Santiago through the grove of royal palms, is the grave of Michael McGartlin, Quartermaster Ser-

geant, Co. B, 1st U. S. Cavalry, who fell July 1, 1898. It would seem from this location (supposing, of course, that Sergeant McGartlin was buried where he fell), that he was one of those who, with Lieut. Hugh Berkley of the First Cavalry, pursued after the enemy toward the palm grove on the way to Santiago, beyond the northern shoulder of the ridge. Lieut. Hobson, from his room in the Reina Mercedes barracks, noted such a pursuit by the approaching firing.*

Fig 51
Graves of Privates Richardson (the nearest) and Cliff Busby.

No. 43. Westward about two hundred yards from the little cemetery of the Illinois and Michigan Volunteers is the grave of Charles W. Richardson, Private, Company L, 1st Illinois Infantry, who died August 20, 1898. The grave is well defined with an edging of stones and the name cut upon a tile used as a headboard (Fig. 51). It is located a little way from and midway between two royal palms which stand to the northward.

No. 44. Westward from the grave of Richardson is that of

* "The Sinking of the *Merrimac*," p. 276. Col. Roosevelt appears to confirm this in his admirable article in *Scribner's Magazine*, April, 1899.

Cliff Busby, Private L Company, 34th Michigan Volunteers. It is in the open plain at the foot of the long western slope of the San Juan Ridge, on the north side of the valley and about three hundred yards north of the Illinois and Michigan cemetery (Fig. 51). The date of Busby's death was not marked, and the name does not appear on my official copy.

Turning southward one crosses the road from Santiago and passing through a break in the wire fence comes to the large ceiba tree, popularly known as the "Surrender Tree." Properly it is "the negotiation tree," although underneath it were signed the articles of capitulation between Maj.-Gen. Shafter and the representatives of the United States and Gen. Toral and the representatives of the Spanish army. The formalities of the actual surrender occurred under a much smaller tree nearer the city. Gen. Wheeler* describes this fine plant as in a gentle, sloping field, covered with luxuriant grass, a large and beautiful ceiba tree, the trunk of which is nearly, if not quite, fifty feet in circumference. The branches are broadly extended, and at the time of the capitulation conference were filled with exceedingly rich foliage which gave an excellent shade, covering an extensive area of ground. The place is not more than fifty or sixty yards south of the main Santiago road, and was probably a little nearer to the American lines than to those of the Spaniards. Some two hundred or three hundred yards to the left and down the slope of the hill was a fine spring, which had been protected with high walls of masonry, constructed in a workmanlike manner.

About fifty yards from this tree the men of the 9th U. S. Volunteers, Col. Crane commanding, have made a little cemetery in which are buried one officer and seven men of the

* "The Santiago Campaign," p. 177. The tree is *Bombax ceiba*, L.

command. The drawing (Fig. 52) was made from a sketch by Second Lieut. Paul H. McCook, of the Fifth Regular Infantry, and shows the graves as they appeared after the headboards had been erected by Mr. Rhodes and his party from the Quartermaster's Department. The tree is now surrounded by a double fence of barbed wire in order to protect it from destruction by soldiers and visitors in search of souvenirs. Warning boards, both in Spanish and English, are hung upon the stakes admonishing all persons not to injure the tree under penalty. The following list designates the graves:

No. 45. First Lieut. Louis T. Barnett, 9th U. S. Volunteers. Died September 18, 1898. Lieut. Barnett's grave is the inner one in the figure, of the two graves in the second row.

No. 46. The grave next to Lieut. Barnett's is unmarked, but is presumably of a soldier of the 9th Volunteers.

No. 47. The front grave in the front row, nearest the tree, is that of an unknown American soldier.

No. 48. John Davis, private, Company A, 9th U. S. Volunteer Infantry, who lies in the second grave in the front row, died September 13, 1898.

No. 49. Placide Jasmin, private, Company C, 9th U. S. Volunteers, who is buried in the third grave in the front row, died September 13, 1898.

No. 50. Alex. Pullman, private, Company L, 9th U. S. Volunteers, who is buried in the fourth grave in the front row, died September 15, 1898.

No. 51. James R. Banks, private, Company E, 9th U. S. Volunteers, died September 16, 1898. His is the fifth grave in the front row.

No. 52. Alexander Wilson, private, Company L, U. S.

FIG. 52.

The Surrender Tree and group of graves of 9th U. S. Volunteers. Drawn from a sketch by Second Lieut. Paul H. McCook, 5th U. S. Infantry.

Volunteers, died September 18, 1898, and is in the sixth grave in the front row.

No. 53. Returning to the Illinois and Michigan Cemetery, which is on the level ground just beyond the northern slope of the San Juan Ridge, one crosses the wagon trail, and pushing northward over the valley, finds two graves. The first is that of "J. B———, private, Seventeenth United States Infantry." The name is so indistinctly written that it cannot be made out. On consulting my copy of the official list I find that the only name among the "B's" of the 17th Infantry that could fill the above blank is "John F. Burke, private, E Co.," who died July 2, 1898.

No. 54. About forty paces to the northwest of the last-named grave is the burial place of Julius B. Weil, private, Company G, 13th U. S. Infantry, killed July 1, 1898. This young man was a Pennsylvanian, his residence being at Wilkesbarre, from which his mother addressed me through a friend an inquiry concerning the location of her son's grave. The fact that it had been found and marked, and that in due time the remains of her son would be restored to her, was a great comfort to this afflicted mother.

No. 55. Just beyond the edge of this valley on the hillside west and near the northern end of the American entrenchments erected after the battle of July 1st, is the grave of John Gray, private, F Company, 17th U. S. Infantry, who appears to have been killed in the fighting of July 2d. At least he is entered on the official list as having died on that day.

Crossing the valley westward of San Juan Ridge one comes to the hill immediately overlooking the city of Santiago, which is known as "Madre Vieja." It is approached from the city by a road which runs southeasterly and ascends the slope of

the hill, making a difficult pull for the scrawny horses used by the hackmen of Santiago. During the skirmishes following the battles of July 1st, a number of men were killed upon these heights, belonging for the most part to the Twentieth Infantry, Bates' Brigade and the Second, Twenty-first and Tenth Infantry of United Stated Regulars, Pearson's Brigade. The dead are buried just outside the entrenchments and upon the south side of the same. Lieut. Reeves, an aid on the staff of Gen Bates, in an excellent chart which he prepared of a portion of the martial graves on San Juan Ridge and vicinity, has given a list of most of the soldiers buried at this point. Mr. Rhodes passed over the same ground and added several names to the list. There are two names, that of Private Edward Plonde and Private Frank E. Hoppe, whose burial places, as far as I know, have not been located except upon the chart of Lieut. Reeves. Mr. Rhodes was not able to find them.

The List and Description of Graves

No. 56. Turning southwestward from the group of graves at the Surrender Tree, and crossing the little brook that runs in the midst of the valley, one ascends the northeastern slope of the Madre Vieja, and on the crest of the hill, just inside the terminal of the entrenchments, is the grave of an unknown American soldier.

No. 57. The next grave to the westward is that of Lee K. Godfrey, private, Company G, 10th U. S. Infantry, died July 1, 1898.

No. 58. William S. Sims, private, Company H, 6th Infantry, U. S. A., died July 7, 1898.

No. 59. Corporal C. E. Tarner, Company L, 8th Ohio

U. S. V. Infantry. His name does not appear on any copy of the official list.

No. 60. Corporal John W. McCartney, Company D, 10th U. S. Infantry, died July 1, 1898.

Just westward from the above graves and in the northwestern angle of the entrenchments is a large grave containing four bodies as follows:

No. 61. Fred Weisheit, private, Company A, 21st U. S. Infantry, died July 1, 1898.

No. 62. William Davis, private, Company A, 21st U. S. Infantry, died July 1, 1898.

No. 63. Robert McClatchey, private, Company C, 21st U. S. Infantry, died July 1, 1898.

No. 64. A. Tomkinson, private, Company H, 21st U. S. Infantry, died July 1, 1898.

Southward of the above large grave is another mound which contains three soldiers as follows:

No. 65. Walter Austin, private, Company G, 10th U. S. Infantry, died July 1, 1898.

No. 66. Felix McCleary, private, Company G, 10th U. S. Infantry, died July 1, 1898.

No. 67. Benjamin F. Boling, private, Company F, 21st U. S. Infantry, died July 1, 1898.

Nos. 68 and 69. Southward of the above are two unmarked graves.

No. 70. Near the southern terminus of the entrenchments and a short distance from the road is the grave of Capt. Charles W. Rowell, of the 22d U. S. Infantry. This gallant officer was killed by a cannon shot from the Spanish heights beyond the American entrenchments during the exchange of shots on July 10, 1898.

Nos. 71 and 72. Just beyond Capt. Rowell's grave to the southward are two unmarked graves of unknown American soldiers.

Crossing the road to the southward and a little above the road are located three graves, as follows:

No. 73. William D. Dempster, private, Company C, 2d U. S. Infantry, died July 3, 1898.

No. 74. John A. Lytton, private, Company C, 2d U. S. Infantry, died July 2, 1898.

No. 75. Thomas Ryan, private, Company C, 2d U. S. Infantry, died July 1, 1898.

No. 76. Near the base of the Madre Vieja Hill on the northern side of the road Lieut. Reeves has located the grave of Frank E. Hoppe, private, Company A, 3d U. S. Infantry, who died July 3, 1898.

No. 77. Further up the slope toward the beginning of the northern line of entrenchments is located the grave of Edward Ploud, private, Company E, 21st U. S. Infantry, who died July 1, 1898.

The manner in which this brave soldier met his death has been related by Mr. Bonsal. About four o'clock on the afternoon of the 1st of July the men of Pearson's brigade were clinging to the crest of Madre Vieja, praying for night, or artillery, or intrenching tools, anything to relieve their desperate plight. They were nearly crazy with thirst, of which they complained more bitterly than of the unceasing fire from the Spanish works. Some of them became delirious from the heat, and, with their tongues hanging out, losing all sense or appreciation of danger, would stand up and expose themselves as they looked around in the hope of discovering water nearer than the San Juan Creek, that seemed so distant. The situation became

unbearable, and at last Ploud volunteered to go to the stream and fill as many canteens as he could carry. Slinging about his shoulders a number of empty canteens, he made a dash across the hundred yards or so of open space, during which time he was immediately under fire, being in plain view of the Spanish trenches. The bullets whistled all about him as he ran, but he passed through the leaden hail unscathed, and as he darted down the gulley which led back to the stream, our fellows in the trenches gave him a great cheer. They waited long and patiently, but he never returned. When darkness came on, and under cover of night the regular water detail was sent back, they found Ploud lying upon his face, half way down the ravine, with the heavy canteens of his comrades, which he had filled at the stream, strapped around him. He was dead—shot through the heart.

Beside him lay his campaign hat, on which he had written, "E. Ploud, 21st Infantry, Santiago, July ——." He had left the date blank, intending to fill it, when the city should be taken, with date of the capture. With a touch of sentiment which often came out in unexpected ways among our soldiers, when Santiago fell some of the men of his company made a pilgrimage to Ploud's grave, and painted into the blank space upon the rim of his hat, which had been placed upon the mound, the date of the actual surrender by the Spaniards.*

* Stephen Bonsal: "The Fight for Santiago."

CHAPTER V

The Bloody Bend and the San Juan Plain

THE great now are gone who attempted to save,
The green grass is growing abune their grave;
Yet the sun through the mist seems to promise to me,
"I'll shine on ye yet in your ain countree."
Hame, hame, hame! Oh hame I fain would be?
O hame, hame, hame, to my ain countree!

The bud comes back to summer
And the blossom to the bee;
But I'll win back—Oh never,
To my ain countree.
I'm leal to the high Heaven,
Which will be leal to me,
An' there I'll meet ye a' sune
Frae my Ain countree.

ALLEN CUNNINGHAM.

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Fold-out Placeholder

his fold-out is being digitized, and will be inserted at a future date.

The Bloody Bend and the San Juan Plain

THE Folder II, Fig. 53, gives a panoramic view of San Juan Ridge, taken from the middle of the plain which lies eastward of its southern end. The plain is about three hundred yards wide, is covered with long grass, and dotted with trees which are more numerous toward the river on the south and straggle in an irregular column from east to west across the level. Within a few yards of the near-by San Juan River, which is, in fact, a mountain creek, the plain falls by a tolerably abrupt descent of eight or ten feet to the creek "bottom," to use an American phrase. In other words, the high waters appear to have gradually cut into the plain until the erosion has formed a second bank. This is approximately shown in the sectional diagram, Fig. 54. Around the southeastern angle of the plain the river bends its course northeastwardly towards its source, and at this angle the "Sunken Road" crosses the stream and joins the Aguadores Road a little beyond the ford. This spot is known as the "Bloody Angle," or more commonly the "Bloody Bend."

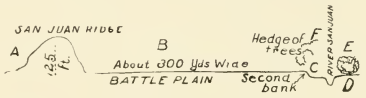


FIG. 54

Section view of Battle Plain and San Juan Ridge.

Here the infantry of Kent's Division, advancing along the road from Siboney, left the shelter of the forest and came into

the open. The men waded through the waters to deploy in battle line behind the shelter of the second bank, and along that section of the road which crosses the plain almost due north and south. The road here is below the level of the plain, hence the name "Sunken Road," and is bordered with a heavy hedge of bushes and small trees, which gave enough shelter from the enemy's terrific volleys to allow the battle line to form before making the final charge. Thus the infantry column formed in the Sunken Road, Gen. Hawkins' brigade, made an obtuse angle with that behind the second bank, Gen. Wikoff's brigade, and in their rushes across the plain the two columns approached the entrenched ridge at first on parallel and then on diverging lines, which spread out like a fan as they struck the ridge. The diagramatic plan (Fig. 55) approximately presents the lines of advance as represented to the writer by participants.

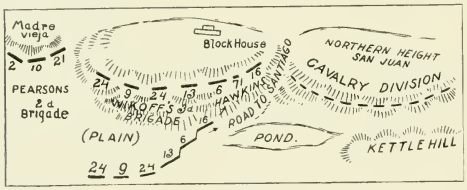


FIG. 55

Sketch map line of advance of infantry on San Juan Hill.

The Second Brigade of Col. E. P. Pearson passed along the Aguadores Road, crossed the lower ford of the San Juan, following the Third Brigade of Col. Wikoff. Moving along the southern and western edge of the plain, partly sheltered by the second bank of the river, the Tenth and Second Regiments marched forward in good order toward the little knoll on the left of the American position (See Map, Fig. 36), which was Gen. Kent's objective point on the left. There they deployed and swept westward, striking the southern ridges of the Madre

Vieja Hill, and drove back the enemy in the direction of their trenches, thus taking a position nearer the city than any other portion of the line. The Twenty-first Regiment of Pearson's brigade was moved over the main road to support Gen. Hawkins' First Brigade in its attack on the southern slope of Fort San Juan Hill.

I confess to be somewhat puzzled as to the exact position of the Twenty-first Regiment in the assault, but have given its disposition as in the official report of Major-Gen. Kent, commanding the Infantry Division. I found no traces that the regiment was present with Hawkins' brigade during the assault; but, judging by the dead buried behind the entrenchments of the Madre Vieja, a number of this regiment were killed in the battle of July 1st, and were buried in the position occupied by the regiment immediately thereafter. For this reason, in the diagrammatic map, Fig. 55, I have placed the regiment with its proper brigade on the right of the Tenth and Second. It is possible that a portion of it at least may have been held in reserve to support Hawkins' brigade. If the dead on the crest of Madre Vieja were killed while supporting Hawkins, they were taken away by their comrades for burial within their own lines. Gen. Bates' Independent Brigade was detached from Lawton's Division immediately after the fight at Caney, and moved to the extreme left, where it took position on the morning of July 2d along with Pearson's brigade on the heights of Madre Vieja.

The necessity of doing something to escape from their perilous position, and the seeming impossibility of moving in any direction but forward, caused the assault upon San Juan Heights. One must have been upon the ground to see the full force of this reasoning. A glance at the rough maps accompanying these notes will show the situation on that dread-

ful tongue of land lying between the two branches of the San Juan River, the upper fork and the lower fork or Aguadores. On the south, the American columns were crowded along the trail known as the Aguadores Road, with the stream on one side, and a high wooded hill on the other, which hemmed them in from that direction. On the north was the fortified Kettle Hill girdled about with well-nigh impassable woods. Behind them to the east was the narrow road over which they had come, now thronged with wounded men and litter bearers moving to the rear, and a ghastly fringe of dead comrades over whom clouds of buzzards were already hovering. The road was but a narrow ribbon of open space stretching through as dense a chaparral as tropical conditions could produce, a well-nigh impassable tangle of shrubs, trees, bushes, prickly cacti and wild trailing vines that grasped legs and arms and body and face, uncanny things, like the tentacles of devil fishes.

Away to the northeast, toward Caney, the roar of battle was heard, so long continued that it showed that Lawton's troops were having serious opposition, with what results Heaven only knew. Thus the two American divisions, crouching and crawling in disjointed and dejected masses in the jungle along the San Juan River, were like the Israelites at the Dead Sea, hemmed in between the mountains on either flank, retreat cut off from the rear, and only one way to go—forward! But there was no recognized leader there, like Moses, with right and power to give command. Circumstances had compelled a temporary abdication of the Fifth Corps commander-in-chief. Who would extricate them? The valor of Vara del Rey and his six hundred Spaniards had defeated and nullified the plan of campaign. Lawton's arrival on the right, for which Kent and Sumner were to wait, was eliminated from the

equation by that unthought of stand at Caney. What was to be done? Lie in that jungled mesopotamia, already "a dark and bloody ground," and be shot to death, as so many of their comrades had been, without striking a blow? Surely not! Fall back under that murderous fire, an army in the demoraliza-

Fig. 56

Trail across Battle Plain to the Bloody Bend, on the southeastern end.

tion of defeat crowding to escape by one narrow trail, like the sands in an hour glass drop, drop, dropping through a pinhole from the upper to the lower funnel? That were certain disorganization of the army, inevitable death to many, a thing intolerable to do.

Before them lay a broad, open plain, reaching to the heights of San Juan with its gray lines of rifle pits volleying and thundering death. Then came the impulse, first voiced by General Hawkins, as clear a word of Providence as that which came to Moses—"Say ye to the people that they go forward!" At all events it was a military necessity. It was the strategy of common sense. It came to others as well. "We shall storm the height," said General Sumner, pointing to the Blue House Hill, "because we must!" Colonel Roosevelt felt the impulse and took the responsibility of ordering his Rough Riders to advance. Field officers, captains and lieutenants everywhere, and the men themselves straining like hounds at the leash, felt the same impulse. "The army's safety lies in getting out of this labyrinthian purgatory—into yon open field—up that height! Better die trying to seize it than lying here seeking cover in vain!" Before them was the plain waving with guinea grass and spotted with trees. Beyond that the long ridge crowned with its blockhouse over which the scarlet flowers of the flamboyant tree were trailing. Alas, there would be scarlet of another hue beneath those blossoms by and by. But, no matter! "The nearer the crest, the safer! Up! Forward!" A glance at the chart which indicates the distribution of the graves, will show how correctly they reasoned. At the edge of the field, just where the troops broke from the jungle and the Sunken Road, the graves are thickest, and then again on the crest of the ridge. In the middle field few are buried; at the foot of the ridge not one.

Lieut.-Col. Miley, Gen. Shafter's aid, in the absence of his chief, took the responsibility and approved the verdict of the army. Hawkins' bugles sounded to the charge. Out of the Sunken Road, through the thicket hedge, through the wire

fence broke the Sixth and Sixteenth Infantry, accompanied by a remnant of the Seventy-first New York hugging their Springfield rifles. Into the grassy plain they pushed, under the full blaze of the torrid sun. Then the first rush began. Southward on the left of Hawkins' brigade, with the Bloody Bend as a pivot, Wikoff's brigade scrambled over the second embankment, and the Thirteenth, Ninth and Twenty-fourth Infantry joined in the advance. Wikoff fell, killed at the head of his brigade. Worth, his successor, fell. Liscum, Worth's successor, fell, and Lieut.-Colonel, now Gen. Ewers, with the Third Brigade started over the plain for the southern shoulder of the ridge hard upon the lead of the First Brigade.

The loss of our troops at the battle of San Juan was severe. Gen. Kent reported his losses on July 1st, in the First Brigade, 5 officers and 38 men killed, 13 officers and 224 men wounded and 49 missing, many of whom were doubtless killed. This was 16 per cent. of the brigade strength. The Third Brigade lost 6 officers and 29 men killed, 9 officers and 177 men wounded and 9 men missing. The Second Brigade, Gen. Pearson, which was not so actively engaged, lost 1 officer and 10 men killed, and 10 officers and 62 men wounded. The grand totals are 12 officers and 77 men killed, 32 officers and 463 men wounded and 58 missing, 642 in all. Of these, the First Brigade lost 329; the Third, 180; the Second, 83.

Maj.-Gen. Leonard Wood, then colonel commanding the Second Brigade, Cavalry Division, consisting of the First Regular Cavalry, Tenth Regular Cavalry and the Rough Riders, reported that he took into action 75 officers and 1446 men, and lost 21 officers killed and wounded and 217 men killed and wounded. This is a loss of 26 per cent. of officers and 15 per cent. of enlisted men. Col. Roosevelt in his report states that the

Rough Riders went into the fight about 490 strong. Eighty-six men were killed or wounded and 6 missing, and the great heat prostrated nearly 40 men, some of them among the best in the regiment. This loss, not counting the men prostrated (some of whom subsequently died), amounts to 18.7 per cent. of the entire command, which appears to be the heaviest loss suffered by any single organization engaged in the battles of July 1st.

Maj.-Gen. Wheeler states * that his Cavalry Division lost 18 per cent. of its number, or nearly one in five. Gen. Kent's Infantry Division lost 13¾ per cent., or nearly one-seventh; while Lawton's Division lost 7 per cent., or one in fourteen. In the Cavalry Division, the proportionate losses were twice as great as those in many of the great battles of Europe. At Waterloo the English lost about 10 per cent., and the average loss in Napoleon's great battles did not exceed 8 per cent.

This brief summary vividly presents, on the one hand, the serious character of the task undertaken by the American soldiers and the enormous exposure to which they were subjected; and, on the other hand, the vigor and valor of the Spanish defence of their entrenchments. One can hardly resist the conclusion that could less time have been given to the Spanish commanders to complete the defences of San Juan, and the American army could have been moved promptly forward after the battle of Las Guasimas, our success would have been achieved earlier and with far less loss of life and limb, and with less of that exhaustion and sickness which were more fatal than Spanish bullets. However, it would seem from Lieut. Hobson's notes † that even before the arrival of our troops, the Spaniards had begun to fortify the northeastern hills surrounding San-

* "The Santiago Campaign," p. 227.

† "The Sinking of the *Merrimac*," p. 249.

tiago, as though aware that our assault would be from that direction. The greatest loss occurred on the road and trails approaching the ford, at the ford of the San Juan near the Bloody Bend, and while awaiting in the Sunken Road and behind the embankment of the plain. The graves are scattered over the plain, growing less frequent as one approaches the ridge, and very frequent as he nears the Sunken Road and the Bloody Bend. (See Map and Chart, Fig. 36.)

List and Description of Graves

No. 78. In the midst of the plain, almost midway between San Juan Ridge and the river is a grave which appears to contain two bodies. The marks are "J. P. W. F. 24–1" and "J. Dolan, Co. C. 13." "J. P. W." was identified by Col. Crane, of the 9th U. S. Volunteers, as the initials of Sergeant John P. Williams, F Co., 24th Infantry, the Colonel's own company of the regular army. Col. Crane's regiment was encamped on San Juan Ridge at the time of my visit, and he kindly accompanied me over the plain and pointed out a number of graves.

Fig. 57—*Col. Crane at Sergt. Williams' Grave.*

No. 79. "J. Doran, Co. C, 13th Infantry U. S." Private John Doran is buried in the same grave as Sergeant Williams, and died on the same day.

No. 80. Going directly east toward the road one finds a single grave, much sunken, under a large tree. The headboard

Fig. 58

Grave of Private Theodore Brown, 6th U. S. Infantry.

is inscribed: "Pvt. Theodore Brown, Co. D. 6th U. S. Infantry. Killed July 1st, 1898." (Fig. 58.) This is probably the Brown of the Sixth Infantry, who stood in the Battle Plain during the charge, holding back a broken wire entanglement for his lieu-

FIG. 59

Grave of Capt. Wetherill, on the plain near the sunken road, which is bordered by the line of trees and bushes on the left of the cut.

tenant to pass. Although Mauser bullets were raining around him, the habit of discipline was so strong that he lifted his unoccupied hand to salute the officer as he went by. In a few moments Brown lay dead upon the field.

No. 81. Walking southerly through the long grass one stops at the grave of Capt. Alexander M. Wetherill, 6th U. S. Infantry. It is quite near the heavy fringe of shrubbery that skirts the plain at the edge of the Sunken Road. It has been decorated by the Lafayette Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, Brooklyn, N. Y., of which Capt. Wetherill was a member. A cross of cartridges set within a circle of the same is arranged above the bosom. A small United States flag surmounts the decoration of the Post, and its bright waving folds give a pretty touch of life and color amid the scene.

FIG. 60
Headboard at Capt. Wetherill's Grave.

No. 82. "C. D. Jacob, Jr. Private, Troop C, 1st Cavalry. Killed July 1st, 1898." The grave of Charles D. Jacob is placed near the Sunken Road, a few paces from the fringe of shrubbery. The inscription is carved on an inclined square of marble. This is under the same tree with Lieut. Michie's, and the two graves are on opposite sides and face in opposite directions, that of Jacob looking north (Fig. 61). Jacob's grave marks the furthest southern point which the cavalrymen appear to have reached.

C. D. Jacob *Lieut. Michie*

FIG. 61

The graves of Lieut. Michie and of Private Jacob, at the edge of the plain; Bloody Bend in the distance.

showing that here the men of the two divisions were intermingled.

No. 83. "Lieut. Dennis M. Michie, 17th Infantry. Killed in action July 1st, 1898." The grave of this gallant officer is under the same tree as the above, the head close to the trunk, the body facing nearly south (Fig. 61). The inscription is on an erect marble headstone. The mound is edged with small stones, and has a wire enclosure in need of repair. Lieut. Michie was a son of Prof. Michie, of West Point Military

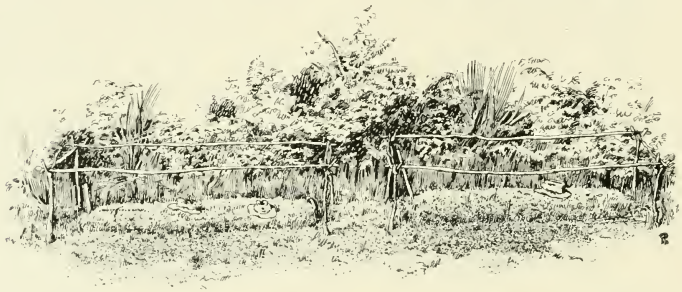


Fig. 62 Fig. 63

Fig. 62—Grave of Private Frank Graffin.
Fig. 63—Grave of Corporal Wallace, 6th U. S. Infantry.

Academy. He was one of the aids of Gen. Hawkins, and was killed at the river near the Bloody Bend while directing the soldiers to a point where they might cross the deep and narrow stream by a huge fallen tree over which the General and his staff had reached the plain.

No. 84. "Graftin, Reinterred 6 feet N. W. of original grave by members 1st D. C. Vol. Co. D." Private Frank Graffin (as the name reads on the official list) of Company A, 6th U. S. Infantry, and Corporal Wallace of the same company,

are buried on the west side of the sunken road close up against the bank and the thick hedge which skirts the plain (Figs. 62, 63 and Fig. 2, Chap. I). They are buried in a line, Graffin's grave being the southern one. They are enclosed in separate fences, formed of long sticks laid upon forked stakes which are ready to fall to pieces. Graffin's grave has near the head a cross of cartridges inserted into the ground, probably from his own cartridge box. Two campaign hats are placed on the mound and a tin plate is leaned up against the foot, doubtless a part of the fallen soldier's outfit. He was killed July 1, 1898.

FIG. 64

Marker on the grave of Corporal Wallace.

No. 85. "Wallace, Co. A. U. S. Inf." The companion grave to Graffin's is that of Corporal Edmond R. Wallace. It is enclosed in the same fashion and located alongside of it on the road in which the troops were formed before the final rush. A campaign hat lies on the mound. The only inscription is on a stick thrust into the mound which indicates that he belonged to A Co. of the 6th U. S. Infantry. He was killed July 1, 1898.

No. 86. "Private Robert Colling, Co. G. 16th Inf. Killed July 1st, 1898." South of the above, in the same road, but on the opposite side, is the grave of Robert Colling. It is close up against the bank, and is embowered by the dense overhanging shrubbery. The whole effect is one of rustic beauty. It is enclosed by a wire fence and the inscription is punched in upon a piece of sheet tin (Fig. 65).

No. 87. "Doran, Co. F, 6th Inf." About fifty paces south of the grave of Lieut. Michie is a mound under a tree bearing

the above inscription. It is not far from the roadside, and is the grave of Corporal John Doran, or Dorn, as the name is spelled on the official list.

No. 88. "Private Conselyea, Co. B. 13th Inf. killed in Action July 1st, 98." Charles Conselyea and two comrades (Nos. 89 and 90) appear to be buried together in a large grave on the edge of the path leading along the angle of the plain to

Fig. 65

Enclosed grave of Robert Colling.

the San Juan River at the Bloody Bend. The path forks around the graves, which is situated on the slope of the second bank, near the ford. The inscriptions are made in pencil on three narrow pieces of a small box-lid which were broken down, but laid upon the mound beside a campaign hat. Tufts of tall grass girdle the edges.

No. 89. "Harry C. Strickler, Privt. Co. B. 13th Inf. Killed July 1st, 1898." Probably buried in the same grave as No. 88.

No. 90. "Bartholomew Callery, Corp. Co. B. 13th Inf. killed July 1, 1898." Probably originally buried in the same grave as Conselyea and Strickler.

In the neighborhood of the grave of Private Roto, and near the centre of the plain, Mr. Rhodes found two graves, one marked with the name of Harry C. Strickler, Company B, 13th United States Infantry, and the other with the name of B. Callery, Private, Company B, 13th United States Infantry. He also found the markers bearing these names on the large mound above described, as I had left them. I can account for the discrepancy only by supposing that the bodies were subsequently removed without removing the markers which were placed upon the common grave. I have indicated on the chart (Fig. 36) the location of these two graves by the numbers 89A and 90A, respectively, showing the approximate points at which Mr. Rhodes found them, but have left my own record as made on the spot.

FIG. 66

Grave of Corporal John Doran, near Bloody Bend.

No. 91. "Paul Rutledge, 13th U. S. I. Killed in Action, July 1st, 1898." Near the ford, close to the junction of the San Juan and Aguadores Rivers, and in the angle of the plain, known as the "Bloody Bend," are four graves. That of Corporal Rutledge, of A Company, is enclosed with Private Wright's in a square rustic fence, whose stakes, three on each

side, are supported by barbed wire binders. The mounds are green with grass and other plants, Wright's being almost covered, and a heavy growth of shrubbery and grass surrounds the fence. The board at the head of Rutledge's grave is surmounted by a cross (Fig. 68).

No. 92. "Thomas Wright, Co. A. 13th U. S. Infantry." A rude cross is placed at the head of the mound bearing the above inscription (Fig 68).

Fig. 67

Grave of Privates Conselyea and Strickler and Corporal Callery, near Bloody Bend.

No. 93. "Lieut. W. A. Sater, 13th U. S. Infantry." The grave of 1st Lieut. William A. Sater is a little nearer the river than the above, and is enclosed by a barbed wire fence supported by four rustic stakes. The headboard bears the above inscription, and there is also a footboard. The tropical growth of plant life is fast shutting in this and other graves. They are only about ten paces from the stream, and the heavy floods

in the rainy season probably will overflow them. The path that leads to the ford, a favorite bathing place for the troops, is about fifteen feet from the graves (Fig. 69).

No. 94. "Capt. John Drum, 10th U. S. Inf." The vacant grave of this gallant officer, whose remains have been removed to the United States, is one of the above group of four, and is north of and close to the graves of Rutledge and Wright.

FIG. 68

Graves of Paul Rutledge and Thomas Wright, at Bloody Bend.

The number of graves clustered within this corner of the plain well justifies the name of "the Bloody Bend" which participants in the fight have given it. Colonel Wikoff, who commanded the Third Brigade of Kent's Division, was killed at this point at 12.05 p. m., although buried across the river some distance along the Aguadores Road. Lieut.-Col. W. S. Worth, of the Thirteenth Infantry, who succeeded him as Brigade Commander,

was wounded here. Lieut. E. H. Liscum, of the Twenty-fourth, who succeeded Worth, was wounded almost immediately thereafter, and was succeeded by Lieut.-Col. Ewers, of the 9th Infantry, who survived and led the brigade up the ridge. Thus this brigade had four commanders within about ten minutes, a record of casualties in general officers rarely if ever equalled.

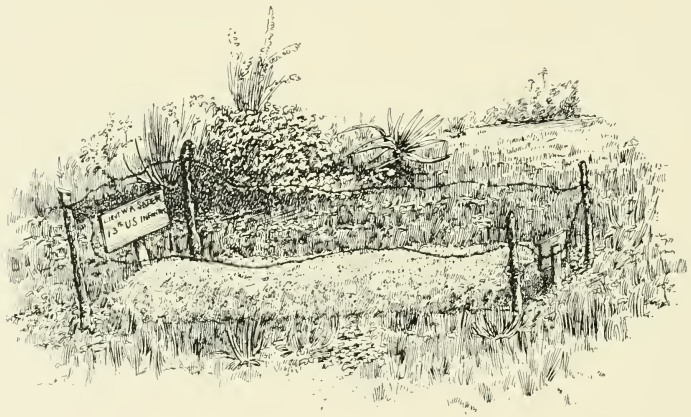


Fig. 69

Grave of Lieut. Sater, at Bloody Bend.

No. 95. Just across the Sunken Road from the grave of Lieut. Sater, on a side trail that leads down to the junction of the Aguadores and San Juan Rivers, is the grave of Corporal John McConville, Co. E., 13th U. S. Infantry, killed July 1st, 1898.

No. 96. The grave of Richard N. Dowling is about seventy-five yards south of Lieut. Michie's, in the field. It is enclosed by thick stakes and sticks laid in log cabin fashion. The hat

rests on the bosom, a tile lies beyond it. The grass has already almost hidden the enclosure, but the inscription is on a board fastened in the middle of a tall stake or branch at the grave's head, so that it shows afar like a banner. The inscription is: "Richard Dowling Private Co F 13th Inft. Santiago, July 1st, 1898 We mourn our loss. R. I. P." (Figs. 70, 71).

No. 97. "John J. Kiernan, Private Co. C, 13 U. S. Inf. killed July 1st, 1898. Rest in peace." This inscription is cut into a box lid placed above a grave in a hollow under the shelter of the declivity which forms the further bank of the stream. The plain drops away here along its southern edge, the result, probably, of erosion. A raised cross, carved within a triangle at the top of the board, is neatly done. In the bark of a tree standing just above on the ridge of the declivity are carved the initials "J. K. Co. C. 13. I." which further identifies the grave. (See Fig. 11, Chap. II.)

Fig. 70
Grave of Richard Dowling, San Juan Plain.

No. 98. The grave of "Elmer G. Wood, Co. G. 13th U. S. Infantry," is under a tree thirty paces south of Kiernan's grave. The inscription is carefully carved.

No. 99. "2d Lieut. J. A. Gurney, 24 U. S. Infantry. Killed July 1st, 1898." Lieut. Gurney's grave is situated on the crest of the inner ridge, or second bank of the river under a tree

which grows on the crest and spreads its foliage over the spot. The tree is solitary, and with the grave forms a picturesque view. The inscription is carefully cut on the headboard, and the mound is edged round about with large pebbles. The San Juan River is near by, and adds to the charm of this strikingly beautiful natural scenery at this point (Fig. 72).

Lieut. John A. Gurney was born in Hart, Michigan, in 1872, and graduated at the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1891, near the head of his class. The esteem in which he was held by his classmates was shown by his choice as class president. Among his classmates was Lieut. Joseph S. Augustin, Jr., who was born in New Orleans in 1874. He had been married less than a year when he fell mortally wounded while leading his heroic regiment of black regulars, the 24th Infantry, up the slopes of San Juan ridge.

FIG. 71
Marker on Richard Dowling's Grave.

The case of these two young men is especially interesting, and gives a striking indication of the happy changes that have been slowly working in the United States toward the binding together of the North and the South. It had escaped, indeed it had scarcely entered into my thoughts, that since the close of the war against Rebellion, a large number of the youth of the Southern States had been gradually introduced by legal appointment into the National Military and Naval Academies, and thus into the army and navy. There, under the Stars and Stripes, they have been nurtured in the love of country and in

fellowship with their comrades from the Northern States, which was subsequently brought to light by the events of the Spanish-American War. It came as a surprise to the people at large that some of the most heroic figures in the National service, both on land and on sea, were the sons of Southern families, the descendants of Confederate veterans, who had fought in the Civil War of the Sixties. Among these was Lieut. Augustin, of New Orleans, who, in the Military Academy, formed a strong affection for young Gurney, of Michigan.

The two men represented the extreme South and the extreme North. They were "chums" during the entire course of four years at West Point, and that they might not be separated, together entered the Twenty-fourth Infantry. It has been stated that when they went together to Santiago, they agreed with each other that if one should fall, the other should break the news to the loved ones at home. It was so ordered that one should not be taken and the other left. In the charge across the battle plain and up the heights of San Juan the two friends were both stricken to death. The blood of Augustin from the warm sunny South and the blood of Gurney from the cool breezes of the far North, mingled together upon the tropical soil of Cuba. Gurney lies sleeping under a lone tree on the crest of the elevated bank just beyond the Bloody Bend and near the spot where he fell. His grave looks down upon the San Juan gliding between its fringe of tropical trees. Lieut. Augustin was carried back from the field across the San Juan, along the Aguadores Road, and so on from El Pozo to the First Division Hospital by the headquarters of Gen. Shafter. There he died and there he was buried, surrounded by a great number of his fellow-soldiers of various ranks, most of whom are buried among the "Unknown."

FIG. 72

Grave of Lieut. Gurney, on the crest of the second bank of the San Juan, near Bloody Bend.

If this war has accomplished nothing else, it has at least wrought for our country an interblending of the various sections, North, South, West and East in the common service and common sacrifice, and, alas, in the common death, of some of the choicest spirits of the Army and Navy, in a common devotion to the honor of our common country and our common flag. May the bond thus sacredly sealed in the blood of our young heroes on the battlefields of Cuba, Puerto Rico and Manila never again be broken!

No. 100. An unknown grave, no mark thereon, is placed on the edge of the river flat at the foot of the second bank. It is beneath the bank on which is Lieut. Gurney's grave, but a little to the east thereof.

No. 101. "Daniel Lonergan, Co. H, 13th Infantry. Killed July 1st, 1898." This grave is situated about one hundred paces east of Lieut. Gurney's grave under a lone plum tree, and twelve paces north from the Aguadores River. A photographic engraving is given in Chap. I, Fig. 1.

No. 102. Returning to the plain a little to the northeast of the grave of Richard Dowling, Mr. Rhodes has located the grave of F. Roto, Private, Company A, 13th United States Infantry. The official list gives the name Frederick Rote (apparently). Killed July 1st, 1898.

No. 103. "L. H. Lewis, Lieut. Co. G, 9th Inf. Killed in action July 1st, 1898." The grave of this bright young officer is on the north side of the Aguadores Road, a short distance beyond the crossing. A growth of splendid trees rises between it and the Aguadores River close by, from which came up the merry shouts of a company of bathers of the 9th U. S. Volunteers, the only sounds that broke the deep silence. A space for the grave was cut into the wilderness of tropical shrubbery,

and loving hands had evidently prepared the sepulchre with such care as circumstances would permit; and faithful friendship can do much to adorn the sepulchre of a soldier even amidst the hurry and the confusion following a victorious battle. The grave is now almost embowered by the surrounding plants, the

Fig. 73

Grave of 2d Lieut. Louis H. Lewis on the Aguadores, near Bloody Bend.

road alone keeping open the view from the southeast. The inscription has been punched into a piece of zinc. The mound is supported near the base by encircling rows of square bricks, but the earth extends a little beyond the bricks. The grave is on a slight slope and the head is elevated. Rustic stakes are

placed at the corners, and these are supported by two strings of barbed wire. (Fig. 73.)

No. 104. Unknown American Soldier. On a side road leading up the slope from the Aguadores Road toward a brick yard is an unmarked grave.

No. 105. "John Booth, private Co. L. 71st N. Y. Vols." Some distance further east along the Aguadores Road and about midway between the graves of Lieut. Lewis and Col. Wikoff, one sees on the south side of the road the grave of John Booth. It lies just under the hill slope on the flat space or bottom land of the river road. It is a large square enclosure of stones, most of which are quite white, and several of these of goodly size. On one of the large stones placed at the head is cut the name "Booth," and the regimental number "71." The grave is flat, with little elevation, so that there is no distinct mound. It is surrounded by the leaves and tendrils of a wild vine, which here festoons the earth and all the shrubbery. It makes a thick entanglement everywhere, and affords a lodgment for hosts of mosquitoes that almost prevented one from taking notes and making sketches. The grave was thickly covered with this vine, which matted the entire surface and almost hid the smaller

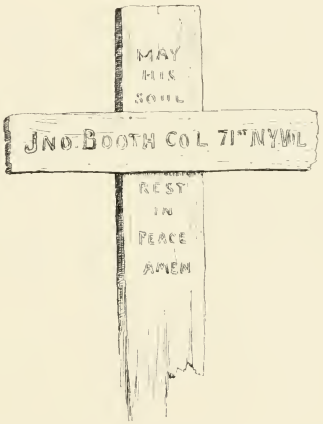


Fig. 74

Cross on the graves of John Booth and Wm. Preger.

stones in the fence. I had to tear away the vine and its ground tendrils in order to trace the outline of the grave, which would not have been noticed had not the cross caught my eye as we drove by. On the standard of the rough wooden cross is inscribed: "May his soul rest in peace. Amen." On the cross piece are the name and regiment as above given. (See two engravings, Figs. 4, 5, Chap. I.)

FIG. 75

Grave of Wm. J. McIlvaine.

No. 106. Private Wm. Preger. Co. A. 71st N. Y. Vols. Killed July 1st, 1898. Mr. D. H. Rhodes informed me that two persons are buried in the grave of John Booth on the banks of the Aguadores, a fact which had escaped my notice. The name as above was written on the back of the cross on Booth's grave.

No. 107. UNKNOWN.—Beyond the grave of Booth and on the right hand side of the road (S. E.) there is an unmarked grave, placed against the edge of the hill, as are the three preceding ones.

No. 108. "W. J. McIlvaine, Co. D, 13th U. S. Inf. Killed in battle July 1st, 1898. Erected by his sorrowing comrades." Advancing along the Aguadores Road toward Siboney, and about midway between the grave of Booth and Preger and that of Col. Wikoff and on the same side of the road is the grave of Wm. John McIlvaine. It is in a shaded retired spot at the base of the hill in which a space is cleared off for the grave. This is surrounded by a barbed wire fence strung from four stakes, and also by an inner enclosure suspended from a number of small smooth spool-like stocks (Fig. 75). The cross on the edge of the headboard is raised up by carving and a carved scroll below the inscription bears the motto: "Requiescat in pace" (Fig. 76). A number of cartridges are inserted in the mound without any apparent design as to pattern. McIlvaine was shot through the head while charging over the plain. He threw up his hands with the exclamation, "My God!" and all was over. He was a citizen of Philadelphia. His body was brought home by his father, who sent a special messenger, a former comrade, to Santiago. It was interred in Mt. Moriah Cemetery, Philadelphia, with military honors, a funeral escort having been sent from his regiment, the Thirteenth Infantry, then stationed at Governor's Island, in New York.

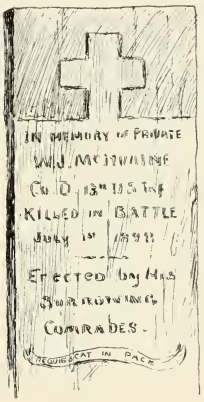


FIG. 76
Headboard at the grave of Wm. J. McIlvaine.

No. 109. "Col. Charles A. Wikoff, 22d U. S. Infantry." This distinguished officer commanded the 3d Brigade, consisting of the 9th, 13th and 24th Infantry of the 1st Division, Gen.

Kent's of the 5th Army Corps. He was killed in the Bloody Bend on July 1st, 1898, while forming his men for the assault on San Juan Hill. His body was carried back along the Aguadores Road and laid beneath a tree, whence it was taken by Maj. McCleary, of Gen. Kent's staff, and under his direction was buried on the left side of the road near the cross-roads, about 200 yards from the second crossing of the San Juan River, east branch. It was afterwards re-interred underneath two trees, on the side of the road diagonally opposite the first place of burial in the angle of the crossing. At the original burial a chaplain, whose name has not been learned, officiated, Maj. McCleary and the burial squad of soldiers being present. He was buried in his uniform as he fell, his body being wrapped in a shelter tent. The present burial site is a beautiful and sheltered one. A small marker is placed at the head of the mound with no inscription except his name and the number of the regiment in the U. S. Army, of which he was Colonel. A large triangular space, including the grave, is enclosed by a barbed wire fastened at two points to strong rustic stakes and at the third to a tree. It is supported in part by another tree.

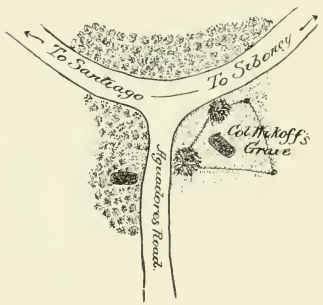


FIG. 77

Plan showing site of Col. Wikoff's grave. The original burial place is across the road.

No. 110. Turning back toward San Juan Hill, from the grave of Col. Wikoff, along the Siboney Road toward the Aguadores, one comes to the grave of Christensen Axel, Private, E Co. 16th U. S. Infantry. It is on the roadside.

No. 191. Further along this road going northward is the grave of Edward J. Ross, Troop G, 6th Cavalry. Killed at San Juan, July 1st, 1898. Capt. J. West, of Troop G, writes that "While the troop was waiting on the bank of the Aguadores Creek to advance, Ross was hit in the leg by a bullet, and was carried a few yards to the rear under shelter of a bank, and soon after died and was buried there, and a headboard put up at his grave." The body of Mr. Ross was removed by friends to his home in Washington.

No. 112. Unknown. Westward of Ross's grave and on the same side of the road but nearer the bank of the Aguadores, is an unmarked grave, probably of a soldier of the Cavalry Division.

Fig. 78
Headboard at Col. Wikoff's grave.

We are now following the line of march of the Cavalry Division along the Siboney Road toward Santiago. In this section the cavalrymen were massed, lying in the jungle underneath the heavy bushes and wooded growth of the plain between the two branches of the San Juan River. To their left a portion of the infantry was massed, the remainder being on the southern side of the Aguadores River.

No. 113. Leaving the grave of Cavalryman Ross and fording the Aguadores River, we locate the grave of Lewis Reynolds, Private, Company A, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry,

FIG. 79

Grave of Col. Wikoff, on the Aguadores Road.

killed July 1st. It is on the bank of the Aguadores, a little northeast of the fording.

No. 114. On the right side of the Siboney Road, a little distance beyond the crossing, is a large mound containing the bodies of five soldiers. On the rude marker which indicates the names of the inmates, appears the name of Chaplain Swift, who evidently officiated at the burial of the men, and left the record by which their bodies have been identified. The first in the list is C. B. Brown, Private, Company M, 71st New York Infantry.

No. 115. Millard F. Perkins, wagoner Co. E, 6th U. S. Cavalry, died July 2d, 1898.

No. 116. James Boyle, Private, A Co., 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry, died July 2d, 1898.

No. 117. James L. Langley, Sadler, B Co., 6th United States Cavalry, died July 2d, 1898.

No. 118. John F. Robinson, Private, Troop E, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry. Died July 2d, 1898.

No. 119. Unknown. Further along the road and on the northern side not far from the upper fork of the San Juan is an unmarked grave.

No. 120. Crossing the Siboney Road and advancing along the bed of a dry water course in the very midst of the bushy plain are four graves of men of the 16th United States Infantry. They are in a group almost in a line due east from the grave of Lieut. Michie in the plain before San Juan, and just west of the large grave containing Numbers 114–18. The plain earthen mounds are simply marked by penciled sticks and the records are as follows:

No. 120. Captain Theophilus W. Morrison, 16th United States Infantry, killed July 1st, 1898.

No. 121. Sergeant Michael O'Brien, Company D, 16th United States Infantry, killed July 1st, 1898.

No. 122. Sergeant Joseph M. Haag, Company F, 16th U. S. Infantry, killed July 1st, 1898.

No. 123. Harvey R. Ross, Private, Company E, 16th United States Infantry, killed July 1st, 1898. The marker bears the name of "Charles" Ross, but there is no such person among the killed of the 16th Inf., and the above, which is on the official list, is doubtless correct.

Chapter VI

On and Around Kettle Hill

WHAT hallows ground where heroes sleep?
'Tis not the sculptured piles you heap!
In dews that heavens far distant weep
Their turf may bloom,
Or genii twine beneath the deep
Their coral tomb;

But strew his ashes to the wind
Whose sword or voice has served mankind—
And is he dead whose glorious mind
Lifts thine on high?
To live in hearts we leave behind
Is not to die!

Is't death to fall for Freedom's right?
He's dead alone that lacks her light,
And murder sullies in Heaven's light
The sword he draws.
What can alone ennoble fight?
A noble cause!

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

On and Around Kettle Hill

THE American troops advanced from the sea to Santiago along the Siboney or Pozo Road. This leaves the city at the Cuartel Reina Mercedes, and passing the blockhouse called Fort Canosa, where it forks to the northeast toward Caney, trends east by south, crosses the long ridge of San Juan, which it descends, and then winding around the Pond, diverges southward and crosses the upper or northern branch of the San Juan River. Thence it bears south, crosses the lower branch of the San Juan, which is known as the Aguadores River or Rio Seco, and trending southeast, following the course of the latter stream, pursues its way through the lumpy valley to the coast mountains, over which it ascends and passes through the vale of Las Guasimas to Siboney by the sea. About two miles and a half from Santiago it passes El Pozo, on whose height Grimes's battery was stationed during the battle of July 1st, and further on passes the headquarters of Gen. Shafter and the site of the First Division Field Hospital which, during the battle, was in charge of Major-Surgeon Wood. Near by are many graves and trenches, most of whose inmates are unknown. Before the road reaches Siboney it again crosses running water two or three times.

Near the point where this road descends the San Juan heights it forks to the south, and swings around the edge of the plain to a fording near the junction of the San Juan and

Aguadores, now known as the Bloody Bend. Crossing here, it turns eastward and merges into the Aguadores Road for several hundred yards until it unites with the short cut or Siboney Road above described. Where it cuts across the plain it is fringed with high bushes and small trees, and is so worn below the level as to quite deserve the name our soldiers gave it—"The Sunken Road."

The American troops advancing from the camp before Sevilla would reverse the course above outlined. Where the Siboney road forks and leads to the Bloody Bend, Kent's Division diverged into the Aguadores Road. On their left (to the south) was a somewhat precipitous elevation, a spur or foot hill from the further mountains, which descends to the roadside. On the right (north) is a heavy growth of trees and underbrush which fringes the Aguadores River only a few yards away. Most of the infantry of Kent's Division pressed along this road to the Bloody Bend, but some deployed to the right, fording the Aguadores River and occupying the plain in the angle between the river forks, which is covered with a dense entanglement of grass, bushes and wild vines. Here Capt. Morrison, Sergeants O'Brien and Haag and Private Ross, all of the Sixteenth U. S. Infantry, fell and are buried.

The Cavalry Division deployed to the right at the forks of the road, and crossing the Aguadores River moved northward along the short cut. To the right and left was the tropical jungle over which, especially to the northwest, towered the bulging shafts and feathered tops of many royal palms. Before them to the north was the rounded knob of Kettle Hill (San Juan Hill), rising quite precipitously, and looking down upon the northern branch of the San Juan River, which runs close to its base, both along the southern and eastern faces.

While waiting along the line of this road, and during their advance, the cavalrymen were exposed to the fire of the Spanish troops and to the enfilading fire from the blockhouse and

Fig. 80

View to the southeast of Kettle Hill, where the Cavalrymen lay.

the rifle pits and the machine guns on San Juan Ridge (Fort San Juan). Their presence and range were made known more definitely by the balloon of the Signal Corps, which was sent up from this point.

The execution done by the enemy is sadly attested by the numerous graves which here mark the line of march. With one exception, a soldier of the Seventy-first New York Infantry, all the graves found on the eastern side of the road are of men from the Cavalry Division. The character of the country through which the cavalrymen moved as they approached Kettle Hill is represented in the photograph (Fig. 80) which was taken from the crest looking eastward. Further to the south, between the river forks, the grass is higher and the trees more scrubby.

The graves of those who fell in battle July 1st, as far as their distribution indicates, show something like the following line of assault: The Rough Riders struck Kettle Hill at the southeast corner, having advanced along the Siboney Road, crossed the San Juan River, and deployed to the right. Their ascent of the hill appears to have been a zigzag course along the eastern slope to about the middle, where they reached the top, and moved across the level surface to the western edge overlooking the pond and the San Juan ridge. This is the line marked out by the graves of Troopers Norton, Logue and Swetnam at the foot of the hill, of Corporal Hall a little way up the slope, and then of Green beyond that, and Hendricks on the crest, while Trooper Santo lies about the middle of the table-like top.

On the left of the Rough Riders and partly intermingled with them, were the Third and First Regular Cavalry, as indicated by the grave of Cooley, of the Third, on the western crest,

and by that of Corporal Pixton, of the First, on the southern edge. The column of the First Cavalry must have stretched further to the left down the southern slope and along the road and the level at the southern foot of the hill, where they lost Privates Ray, Gund and Linder, who are buried at that point, presumably where they fell. Indeed, the grave of Private Jacob, near the Sunken Road on the Battle Plain, and that of Maj. Force on the crest of San Juan Ridge, would suggest that detached parts or even the line of the First Cavalry may have touched that of the Infantry well toward a point in front of the blockhouse.

The Ninth and Tenth Cavalry of colored troops were aligned with or intermingled with the above, or were in advance or in the rear of their columns. This is indicated by the positions of the graves of Col. Hamilton, who commanded the Ninth Regiment, and of Lieut. Smith, of the Tenth. These are both situated at the southeastern foot of the hill, to the west and southwest of the graves of the Rough Riders and immediately beneath the grave of Corporal Pixton, of the First Cavalry. It is remarkable that there are no graves of enlisted men from these two regiments in this vicinity, since two of the Ninth and six of the Tenth are officially reported killed. I have not been able to trace the points at which they were buried. The same fact is measureably true of other regiments engaged in storming Kettle Hill. Of the thirteen men of the First Cavalry killed, I know the graves of only seven. Of the twelve Rough Riders killed only nine graves are known. Of the three men killed in the Third Regiment the grave of one is known. The four of the Sixth Regiment killed apparently fell in the road before the charge, for their graves are all there.

Turning now from this objective study of the field to the

official reports and various narratives by eye witnesses and participants, we find that in point of fact the accounts of the charge on Kettle Hill substantially corroborate this deduction made from the distribution of the martial graves. The hill was covered chiefly by Rough Riders and Ninth Colored Regulars, with some of the First Regulars on the southern slope, where the hill is most precipitous, and a few men of other commands intermingled at various points in the charging line. In the confusion of the rush many lost their respective companies, and attached themselves to the nearest officer, especially if he seemed to be one who held his own men in hand and fought them well.

The Tenth Calvary, which lost 50 per cent. of its officers in killed and wounded, and the First Cavalry which lost severely, especially in men killed, together with the Third and Sixth Cavalrymen, swept the southern foot of the hill, and charging along the road and over the plain through the pond, struck the San Juan Ridge to the right of the Infantry, and on the left of the Siboney Road. Col. Roosevelt went up Kettle Hill a-horseback until stopped by a wire fence, when he dismounted and led the charge to the crest a-foot.

When the blue colored hacienda, temporarily converted into a blockhouse, had been seized, and the regular Spaniards and guerrillas who held it were dislodged, they fell back to their supports on the northern shoulder of the San Juan Ridge, the part which immediately faces Kettle Hill and lies north of the Siboney Road. From the entrenchments on this height a fire was opened upon the American cavalrymen on Kettle Hill. Several large iron kettles, used for boiling sugar, stood well out in the middle of the level summit of the knoll, which were still in position when I first visited the place in the closing days of July. These kettles were used by our men as breastworks, and

from behind them and from the captured buildings and other points of vantage, they opened fire upon the enemy in the opposite trenches and blockhouses in support of the Infantry of Hawkins' Brigade, who were now across the plain and mounting the ridge ribbed with Spanish rifle pits.

As the gallant footmen struck the crest, the horsemen ceased firing lest they should injure their friends. Then forming in line they cleared the level summit, and moved down the western slope, which descends by a rather long decline to the plain, and with a wild whirr and hurrah charged the ridge in their immediate front, which had kept up a continuous fire upon them. Black and white, Rough Riders and Regulars, in bunches and fragmentary columns, and in scattering squads, led by their company officers, won the Spanish trenches, and chased their occupants from the hilltops and around the northern shoulder of the ridge toward the grove of royal palms. The grave of Sergeant McGartlin, of the First Cavalry, appears to mark the extreme point which the Americans reached in this direction, a squad under Lieut. Berkley, of the First, having advanced that far. The Sergeant was killed, but the little group of horsemen held the position until it was finally permanently occupied by the right of the division.

Mr. Hamment, who followed the army as a war correspondent, was near this point between the two branches of the San Juan and describes* a burial scene in which he took part. The men who were killed were being buried as decently as circumstances would allow. One instance cited was that of four Cubans carrying one of our soldiers to the rear. They had borne him from the firing line to a point where he was free from immediate danger. He was badly shot, having six or

* "Cannon and Camera," p. 191.

FIG. 81

The Graves of Rough Riders Oliver B. Norton, Logue and Swetnam, southeastern foot of Kettle Hill.

seven bullet wounds in his body. The Cubans asked the correspondent if he had any water. He had some in his canteen, and as they placed the litter down on the road he put the nozzle of the canteen to the soldier's lips. But he was beyond the help of mortal. He had already breathed his last. The party took the dead soldier aside, hastily dug a grave, and ere they covered him with the earth, as there was no chaplain to administer the last rights, Mr. Hamment took it upon himself to say devoutly, "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes!" coupled with an earnest inward hope that the hero had gone to meet his God as a brave man should. The Cubans were quite impressed with this simple ceremony, and at its conclusion started back to the line to aid others. The writer adds that he found that during the first and second day's fighting, the Cubans did good service in the above manner. But one ventures little in concluding that the grave of the soldier thus buried, if found at all, is among those marked "Unknown."

List of Dead and Description of Graves

No. 124. Oliver B. Norton, Troop B, 1st Volunteer Cavalry. On a level spot of ground near the foot of the hill is the grave of Oliver B. Norton, who was shot down at the side of his brother and of Col. Roosevelt while charging the hill in advance of the line. It is a simple cairn of rocks and tiles (Fig. 81), with a rude cross at the head bearing the inscription: "In Memory of O. B. Norton, Troop B, 1st Cav. Killed in battle July 1st, 1898." Above the cairn, set in the bosom of the hill, is a fine brick arch embowered in trees, a part of the ruined sugar works. To the north stand the parallel brick walls of a ruined building. It would be difficult to find burial sites more picturesque than this and that of the other Rough Riders

FIG. 82

Grave of Rough Rider J. R. Hall, eastern slope of Kettle Hill.

who fell and now sleep on the eastern slope of the hard-contested ground. A high tuft of grass grows at the grave's head; the space immediately surrounding is otherwise verdureless.

Nos. 125-126. Mr. Rhodes, subsequent to my visit, determined that two other soldiers, both privates in the First Volunteer Cavalry, are buried in the same grave. Their names are David Logue and John W. Swetnam, both privates in Troop B, to which Norton belonged. They were probably among the men of this troop who attached themselves to Col. Roosevelt as he led his regiment up the slope.

Fig. 82A

Tile marker at the head of Rough Rider Hall's Grave.

No. 127. Just above on the lower slope of the hill, and a little to the north is the grave of Corporal Joel R. Hall, Troop B, 1st Vol. Cav. U. S. (Fig. 82). It is a large mound composed of stones and tiles intermingled with the earth. It is shaded by a tree that grows on the slope above it. To the southwest close by is a brick arch, the opening into the well of the ruined sugar mill on the eastern face of the hill. The inscription is neatly cut into a curved tile, which is placed at the head and supported by a board (Fig. 82A). The grass has overgrown the grave, and the whole surroundings unite to form a picturesque view.

No. 128. "H. C. Green, Troop E., 1st Vol. Cavalry." A few yards northeast of Hall's grave is the tomb of Private Henry C. Green of the Rough Riders (Fig. 84). It is a large rectangular mound, on the slope of the hill, of which the lower end has been raised, making the surface almost level. For this purpose tiles and stones have been freely used. The inscription is cut upon a board, and also on a curved tile laid in one corner of the mound (Fig. 83).

No. 129. "Milo A. Hendricks, Troop J, 1st U. S. Vol. Cav." Ascending the hill to the summit on which the distinctly marked sites of tents still remain, and much of the debris of an abandoned camp, and walking a few yards to the north, one meets the grave of Rough Rider Hendricks, who fell July 1st. It is on the edge of the eastern slope on which are the graves of Hall and Green. Near the head grows a small tree which has been topped, and the trunk has sprouted into a bushy shelter. Low shrubbery has well over-covered the mound. It is shown in the photograph (Fig. 84) along with the tomb of H. C. Green, and its locality is indicated by the human figure touching one of the corner posts. The mound is bordered with tiles and bricks and is enclosed by a wire fence. The name and inscription are scored on a curved tile fastened to the trunk of the young tree.

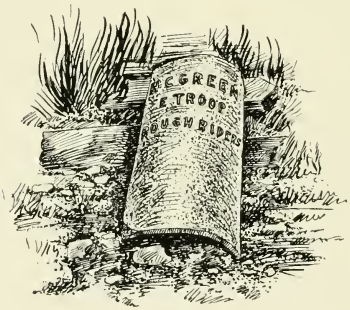


Fig. 83

Tile marker at grave of H. C. Green, on Kettle Hill.

No. 130. Wm. Santo. Troop J, 1st U. S. Volunteer Cav-

FIG. 84

Graves of Rough Riders H. C. Green and Milo A. Hendricks, eastern slope of Kettle Hill. Hendricks' grave is on the crest by the human figure.

alry. An orderly, detached for duty with Gen. Wood, a member of the Rough Riders, informed me that the above-named soldier is buried "one hundred feet southeast of the grave of Hendricks and opposite to it." I could not find this grave, but make the insertion here for subsequent investigation. I believe it to be the grave "No. 62 A," marked "Unknown" by Mr. Rhodes in his notes, which is located as above described, and which he thinks contains more than one body.

Fig. 85

Cairn of Corporal Wm. A. Pixton, southern edge of Kettle Hill.

No. 131. Crossing the summit to the ruins on its northeastern edge and descending the declivity one sees an unmarked grave on the second knoll beyond the hill. It was designated by Mr. Rhodes, and is marked in his list "No. 90."

No. 132. On the western brow of the hill looking towards Santiago, is a grave marked "Daniel D. Cooley, Troop K, 3d Cavalry, Killed July 1st, 1898." It is on the edge of the bluff directly east of the Pond, and overlooks the plain and the opposite height of San Juan Ridge.

No. 133. Circling the edge of Kettle Hill well toward the southeastern edge, is a grave marked "Corporal W. A. Paxton (or Pixton), Troop B, 1st Cavalry. Killed in battle July 1st, 1898. Rest in Peace" (Fig. 85). It is near the edge of the hill hard by a footpath that winds along the crest. The graves of Lieut.-Col. Hamilton and Lieut. Smith are just below, near the foot of the hill. The mound is entirely covered with stones, and the inscription is on a board fastened to two upright stakes.

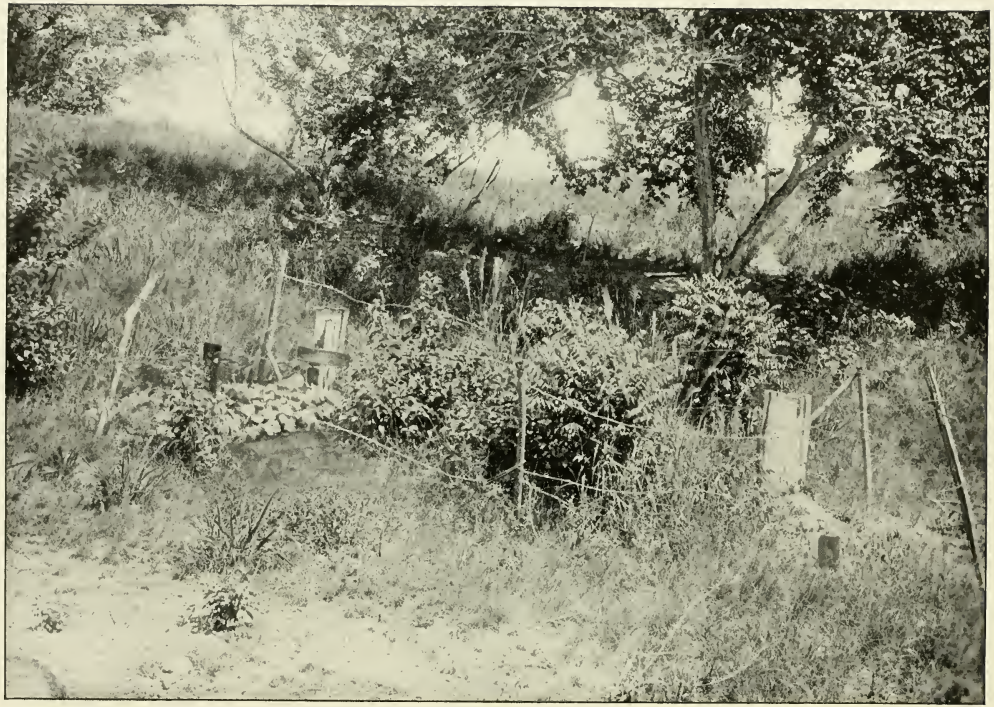
No. 134. Ascending the hill, which is here rather steep, by the pathway that leads over the southeastern slope, an unmarked grave is found on the opposite side of the road. "I wonder" if this may not be the grave of the "trooper of the 6th Cavalry" so touchingly referred to by Mr. Bonsall in the excerpt quoted at the close of Chapter II?

No. 135. Turning westward and walking along the road toward the pond, one meets the grave of Melvin Ray, Private, Company I, First United States Cavalry, Killed July 1st. It is on the side of the road toward Kettle Hill, a plain mound with a small marker to designate its inmate.

No. 136. Just across the road from Ray's grave are two graves containing men from the same regiment and from the same company. The nearest to the road is that of Adam Gund, Private, I Company, First United States Cavalry, who died July 1st, 1898. The inscription is on a plain marker.

No. 137. Side by side with Gund's grave is that of Roland L. Linder, Private, I Company, First United States Cavalry, who died July 1st, 1898. The grave is enclosed with barbed wire stretched upon stakes.

No. 138. On the northern side of the road, under the southeastern slope of Kettle Hill, looking toward the San Juan River, are the graves of Lieut.-Col. James M. Hamilton and



Col. Hamilton. FIG. 86 *Lieut. Smith.*

Graves of Lieut.-Col. Hamilton and Lieut. Smith, southeastern base of Kettle Hill.

1st. Lieut. Wm. H. Smith (Fig. 86). They are in one barbed-wire enclosure, eighteen feet long by ten feet wide. A mass of shrubbery makes a green partition between the two, and the tropical vegetation runs riot around them. The mounds are nested in the bosom of the hill in a recess worn by erosion or excavated by man. Col. Hamilton's grave is bordered by and almost covered with stones. The original marker at the head has been reinforced by a tin sheet mounted on a board box-lid, into which has been punched the simple inscription, "Lieut. Col. J. M. Hamilton, 9th U. S. Cavalry" (see Chap. II, Fig 8). This able and gallant officer was in command of the Ninth (colored) Regular Cavalry and was killed while leading his regiment in the charge which swept Kettle Hill, and carried the Cavalry Division forward across pond and plain to the northern heights beyond.

No. 139. "1st Lieut. W. H. Smith, 10th Cavalry, July 1st, 1898." Lieut. Smith's grave is not parallel with Col. Hamilton's, although in the same enclosure, but faces more to the south-east. It is also covered with stones, but in a less pronounced manner. The inscription is placed on the back of the head-board, on a tin sheet, and is punched in apparently with a nail. The artificer miscalculated his space, and the name is in part doubled around upon the side of the mounting board. The San Juan winds between its hedgelike banks but a little distance away, and between it and the grave is a well-beaten trail to the river.

The San Juan Soldiers' Cemetery

On the river level, just at the southwestern foot of Kettle Hill, is an enclosed cemetery which contains twenty graves. It shows great care in decently interring the bodies of the soldiers therein, and approaches more nearly the ideal of a field ceme-

FIG. 87

Soldiers' Cemetery, southern base of Kettle Hill. The San Juan Battle Ridge in the background.

tery than any assemblage of graves on Cuban battlefields. The fence is strong and secure; the graves are all marked but one. Some of them, as may be seen by the views, have been decorated with a loving sentiment which shows how strong is the bond of soldierly comradeship. Whoever was the inspiring spirit in the preparation of this cemetery, deserve high credit. The enclosure is drawn almost east and west, within a recess of the hill, which rises above it on the north. Southward is a well-beaten road or military trail which leads to and crosses the northern branch of the San Juan, which is a few rods distant and flowing eastward and northerly curves around the foot of the hill. A large tree stands a few yards east of the enclosure and casts its shadow upon the end next to it. Of the graves in the cemetery thirteen are of men of the 9th Massachusetts Volunteers; four of the 20th U. S. Infantry; two of the 10th Cavalry, and one unmarked. As far as the markings show only Lieut. Shipp, of the 10th Cavalry, serving on Gen. Wood's staff, died in battle. The list of inscriptions follows, from which and the chart, Fig. 88, the burial places of the soldiers described can be located upon the engraved photographs.

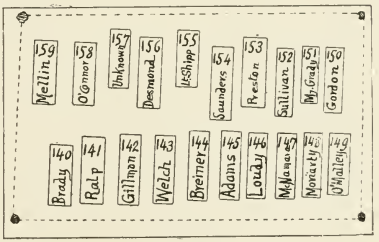


FIG. 88

Plan of burials in the San Juan Cemetery.

No. 141. There is no inscription upon this grave, but Lieut. Reeves identifies it as apparently that of 1st Sergt. Walker Ralp, Co. M., 9th Massachusetts.

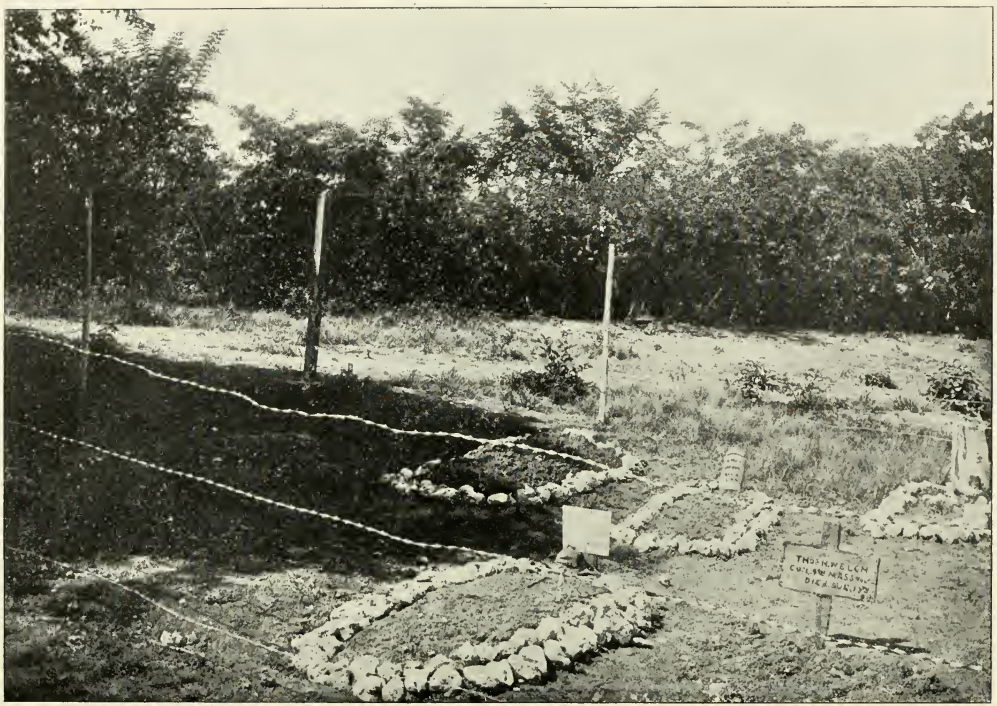


FIG. 89

Eastern section of Soldiers' Cemetery at foot of Kettle Hill.

No. 142. "Walter Gilman, Co. F, 9th Mass. Vol. Inf. Died Aug. 1st, 1898."

No. 144. "Hospital Steward H. R. Breiner, 9th Mass. U. S. V. Died Aug. 18, 1898."

No. 145. "Private William Adams, Co. F, 20th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 8th, 1898."

No. 146. "Private A. D. Loudy, Co. F. (20th) U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 12th, 1898."

No. 147. "Private J. M. McNamara, Co. K. 9th Mass. Vol. Inf. Age 21 years. Died Aug. 14, 1898."

No. 148. "In Memory of Pri. J. D. Moriarity, Died Aug. 20, 1898. R. I. P. Co. E. 9th Mass."

No. 149. "I. H. S. Private M. F. O'Malley. Died Aug. 20, 1898. R. I. P. Co. K. 9th Mass."

No. 150. "Private Perry E. Gordon, Co. U. 20th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 31st, 1898."

No. 151. The vacant grave of Major Patrick J. Grady, 9th Mass. Vols. removed to the U. S. He died July 30th, 1898.

No. 152. "Henry Sullivan Pvt. Co. G. 9th Mass. Vol. Died July 23d, 1898. Age 26 years. Santiago de Cuba."

No. 153. "Geo. Preston, Shot July 23, 1898. Troop D, 10th Cavalry U. S." His name is not on my copy of official list.

No. 154. "Private Wm. Saunders, Co. B. 9th Mass. Vol. W. J. B. He remembered the *Maine*. No. 3236." I have no clue to the letters and numbers on this inscription, the only one I saw which exhibits the slightest trace of the national indignation expressed in the well-known motto thereon quoted.

No. 155. "1st Lieutenant William E. Shipp, 10th Cavalry. Killed July 1st, 1898." Lieut. Shipp was on the Staff of Gen. Wood, commanding the Second Cavalry Brigade.

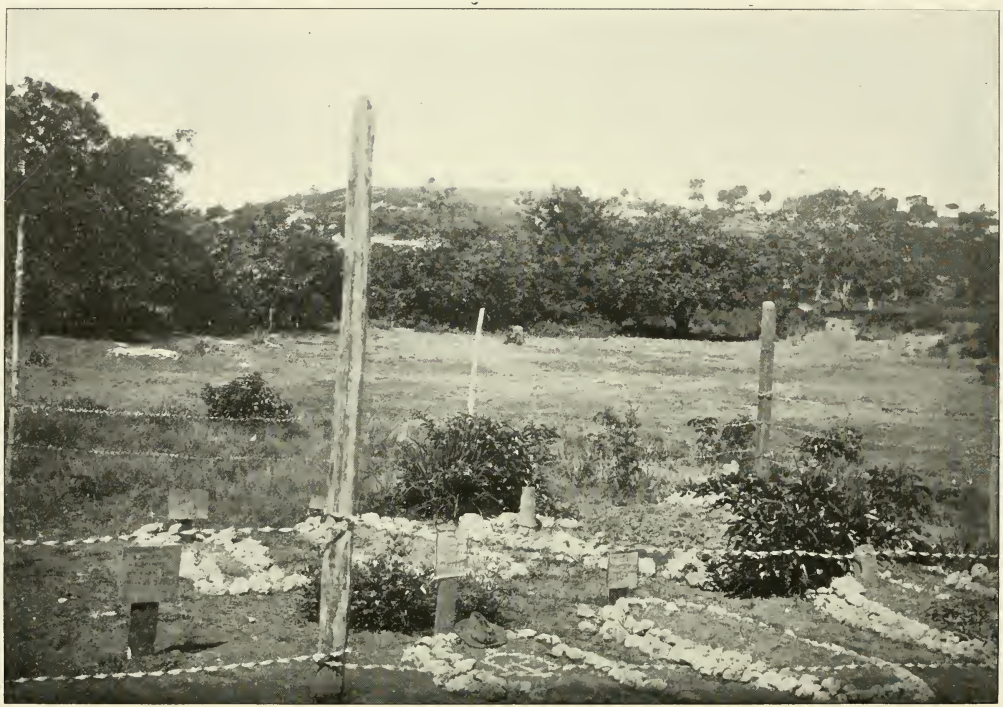


FIG 90

Western section of Soldiers' Cemetery at foot of Kettle Hill.

No. 156. "Private M. J. Desmond, Company L, 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. Died August 5th, 1898. Age, 43 years."

No. 157. Unmarked grave of Unknown American Soldier.

No. 158. Vacant grave of Major Michael J. O'Conner, 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, who died Aug. 6th, 1898. His body was removed to the United States.

No. 159. "R. I. P. Private R. Mellin, Company I, 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. Died August 7th, 1898."

Now and then an incident occurs which shows that some of the cavalrymen wounded or killed in the jungle between the river forks were never found by comrades and were never buried. A friend who visited the battlefields in March (1899) informed me that one of his party who had been exploring this section a horseback discovered a skeleton which, judging from scant fragments of the uniform, was that of an American soldier. Mr. Lewis appears to have had a like experience, which he has graphically described.*

A brown man, lithe, sturdy, and clad only in a pair of tattered overalls, was slashing away with his machete at a jungle of wire grass confronting him. Suddenly he stopped and gazed in consternation at an object huddled in a tangle of weeds. It was the skeleton of a man, the bones bleached to a grayish hue. A short distance from the skull was a stained campaign hat with rusted swords pinned to the front. Over the swords was a fragment of the figure "1," indicating that the fallen soldier belonged either to the First Regular Cavalry or to the Rough Riders. Pieces of tattered brown khaki cloth were scattered about, and near one of the feet was a battered canteen.

The Cuban gave a shout, and presently another man,

* Henry Harrison Lewis, *Munsey's Magazine*, March, 1899.

evidently a farm laborer, came pushing and cutting his way through the jungle. He, too, paused aghast, but only for a moment; then he laughed grimly, and pointing downward said:

"It is an Americano, Juan. He was a soldier in the great fight. There were many of them, and they dropped all around like agave leaves in a strong wind I remember that day very well. It was just five months ago, and I had been in the Cuban army almost a year. It was just about here—no, a little further on where the trail divides, I think—that we had the first battle. Madre de Dios! It rained bullets that hour. The Americanos fought like tigers, and they laughed and joked as if it was a fiesta. Ur-r-r! In a few minutes the grass and the weeds and some of the bushes were flat as if beaten down with the machete. And there were bodies and blood and guns and fine clothing scattered all about. Por Dios, that was only the other day—less than a half year—and now look at it!"

Chapter VII

The Firing Line Around Caney

A Soldier of the Legion lay dying in Algiers,
There was lack of woman's nursing, there was dearth of woman's tears,
But a comrade stood beside him, while his life-blood ebb'd away,
And bent, with pitying glances, to hear what he might say.
The dying soldier falter'd as he took that comrade's hand,
And he said, "I never more shall see my own, my native land;
Take a message and a token to some distant friends of mine,
For I was born at Bingen—at Bingen on the Rhine.

"Tell my brothers and companions, when they meet and crowd around
To hear my mournful story in the pleasant vineyard ground,
That we fought the battle bravely, and when the day was done
Full many a corpse lay ghastly pale beneath the setting sun.
And 'midst the dead and dying were some grown old in wars,
The death-wound on their gallant breasts, the last of many scars;
But some were young, and suddenly beheld life's morn decline,
And one had come from Bingen; fair Bingen on the Rhine.

CHARLOTTE NORTON.

The Firing Line Around Caney

THE battle of Caney was fought by the Second Division of the Fifth Army Corps, commanded by Major-General Lawton. The brigades of his division were as follows: The First Brigade, under Gen. Chaffee, consisted of the Twelfth, Seventh and Seventeenth United States Infantry. The Second Brigade, Gen. Ludlow, was composed of the Eighth and Twenty-second United States Infantry and the Second Massachusetts Volunteers. The Third Brigade was composed of the Fourth and Twenty-fifth United States Infantry under Col. Miles. The unattached brigade of Gen. Bates arrived on the field just in time to join in the final assault.

On the day preceding the battles of July 1st, Gen. Lawton's division occupied the extreme right of the American line, and was encamped on a dry, sandy plateau in the neighborhood of Sevilla, a plantation marked by a Spanish blockhouse. The troops lay on both sides of the road leading towards Santiago. Lawton's left touched the right of Gen. Wheeler's cavalry division, which extended eastward for about half a mile to the right of Gen. Kent's division, which included also Lieut. Parker's four Gatling guns together with four batteries of light artillery, composed of four guns each.

Apparently the plan of attack was to swing the army around to the northwest of Santiago, and occupy the foothills

FIG. 91

View of El Viso and the Stone Fort, taken from Alto Coronal, on the northeast. The fort is on the left, facing the engraving.

of the Sierra Maestra and the Cobre Mountains, thus cutting off the city from all re-enforcements and supplies by the roads and railway leading into the interior, while the fleet, under Rear-Admiral Sampson, prevented approach from the sea. In this movement Lawton was to occupy the right, marching to the north and then west, "gobbling up" en route the little town of Caney with its small force of five hundred and forty defenders. In the meantime the cavalry division in the centre and Kent's division on the left were to move forward toward the fortified San Juan Hills, while Gen. Duffield, with his Michigan volunteers, made a demonstration against Aguadores on the seaside, to the southeast of Santiago. It was, of course, intended that the movement of Gen. Duffield should deceive the enemy as to the actual point of attack, and that Gen. Lawton's division, having routed the enemy from Caney, should join from the northwest in the common investment of the Spanish defences. An attack on San Juan Heights was apparently not included in the plan of that day's operations.

In accordance with this plan Gen. Lawton started the Second Division early on the morning of July 1st. He took with him a company of Cubans to act as scouts, the bulk of Gen. Garcia's army having been sent into the hills to the northwest to retard or prevent the approach of Gen. Escario's column which was marching to re-enforce the Spaniards in Santiago City. It would seem that it had not occurred to the American chieftains that the opposition at Caney would be serious. As it turned out, the little band of Spaniards under Gen. Vara del Rey made one of the most remarkable defences in military records, and succeeded in holding back an entire division of American regulars who, without undue vanity, may be regarded as among the best troops in the world, from an early

FIG. 92

View of American firing line around Caney looking south from El Viso Hill.

hour in the morning until half-past three or four o'clock in the afternoon.

The gallant Spanish commander and the greater portion of his soldiers were killed or wounded, and they succeeded in killing or wounding a number of their foes equal to their entire force, and in preventing Lawton's division from taking any part in the battle of San Juan. It is no wonder that this act commanded the admiration of the American soldiers, and produced an entire revolution in their feelings as to the soldierly qualities of their enemies. Thus, when in due time the Spanish authorities wished to convey the remains of Gen. Del Rey to his native land, the military escort was a battalion of the Fifth United States Regular Infantry, who accompanied the remains, with all the honors of war, to the landing place in Santiago.

The road from Sevilla to Caney runs northward from the main road from Siboney to El Pozo and Santiago, and keeping close to the foot hills enters an open highway about a mile from the village. Caney lies in the northeastern angle of the lumpy upland valley which has heretofore been described. It is quite out of the route which the army would naturally have taken in its direct advance upon Santiago. One who stands by the ruined stone fort on El Viso height and notes the situation, can hardly refrain from thinking that the attack on Caney was needless. One or two regiments placed in the open to the northwest and southwest of the town, would have completely cut off the five hundred men in and around the place from any connection with their main army and base of supplies before Santiago. Had Gen. Vara del Rey ventured a sortie, the result of a battle in the open would have given at least equal chances for an equal number of American soldiers to defeat the Spaniards. From almost any standpoint the great loss of life and

FIG. 93

View from the Stone Fort, looking east and southeast.

limb which resulted from the attack upon Caney seems a questionable sacrifice. Moreover, had a brigade been left to watch Caney, while the bulk of Lawton's division pushed on the road to Santiago (a fairly good one as compared with the Siboney trail), and struck the northern flank of the Spanish defences at San Juan early in the morning, there would have been no long waiting under fire at the Bloody Bend and the tongue of land beyond it, and there would have been a different story to tell of the losses of that day. It is doubtful if the Spaniards would have attempted or could have made a serious stand at San Juan with Lawton assailing their right, and in that case they must have fallen back to their inner defences.

The valley surrounding the village is broken by a number of isolated knolls and ridges sent out from the foot hills of the Sierra Maestra range, which encompasses the town on the east and north. A short distance from the village on the southeast there rises, about a hundred feet high, a conical hill known as El Viso. This is crowned by an antiquated stone fort which formed the central point of the Spanish defences. The slopes of the hills approaching it were protected by rifle pits and by wire entanglements. The latter were placed at various points throughout the plain and at all approaches to the village. Rifle pits were dug upon the adjacent heights and the town itself was a fortified camp. The fronts of the porches of houses around the plaza and elsewhere were built up with rock and cobble stones breast high, and the recess left by the projecting tower of the old Church on the northeast of the plaza was treated in the same manner, thus converting the sanctuary into a military fortress. On the north, west and southwest were several block-houses which were also centres of defensive works and were connected by trenches and runways. In addition to this, squares

and caps of sheet-tin and zinc were put up at various points where an approaching enemy would be likely to come into view along the several roads leading into the town, thus marking the range for the commanding officers, and enabling them accurately and with fatal effect to direct the fire of their troops.

Fig. 94

American firing line, continuation of view Fig. 93.

On the whole it must be allowed that, as against an attack of infantry only, the Spaniards showed great skill in the arrangement of their defensive works. But it may be said with equal certainty that these could not have withstood for an hour the well-directed fire of an adequate artillery attack. An old

Spanish soldier who took part in the day's fighting, expressed to the writer the astonishment that was felt among Spanish officers and men that the Americans were willing to sacrifice their lives by a direct assault upon the Spanish works while, as the soldier expressed it, "they (the Americans) could have routed us out with their artillery like a flock of partridges." The works were utterly untenable by any other form of attack than that which the Americans so obligingly offered to the gallant men who had skillfully and thoroughly prepared for the same.

About a mile and a quarter (2400 yards) from Caney to the southwest, Captain Allyn Capron's battery had been stationed on one of the foot hills of the mountains on the night of June 30th, having moved out with Gen. Chaffee's brigade at three p. m. As early as five o'clock on the morning of July 1st Chaffee began his advance from the night's bivouac on a knoll a mile and a half southeast of the village. The Seventh Regiment Regulars swung around the east following a trail known as the Rodé (or El Rodeo) and attacked from the northeast. The Seventeenth Regiment was to pass beyond the Seventh and by a wider sweep approach the town from the northwest. In the meanwhile the Twelfth Regiment was to move westward and engage the enemy, taking position on the ridges and knolls in the valley eastward of the Stone Fort.

The severe losses sustained by this brigade in the positions above outlined are sufficiently indicated by the graves that mark the line of their advance. In the field northwest of the height of Alto Coronal, which commands the stone fort and the town, forty-three graves of men of the Twelfth, Seventh and Seventeenth regiments lie side by side in what is still known among the inhabitants of Caney as "the American cemetery." Gen.

FIG. 95

View of Caney from the Stone Fort, El Viso.

Ludlow's brigade on the left of the division had taken position between the village and Santiago; and across the Santiago Road the Twenty-second Infantry had won a position on a hill that commanded the road from Caney towards Santiago. Col. Miles's brigade (the Fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry) was on the southern line of circumvallation, whither it had been summoned from its reserve position at the Ducureau mansion to support Ludlow's attack on the south side of the town.

Capt. Capron's battery began firing about half-past seven o'clock in the morning, but for some reason ceased until later in the day, about 1.30 p. m., when it once more began to play upon the fort and succeeded in breaking great gaps in the stone work. About 3 p. m. the Twelfth Infantry led the charge up the eastern slope of the hill through the wire entanglements, over rifle pits, and planted the American flag upon the stone fort. The first person to enter the fort according to Capt. Arthur Lee, the British military attaché, was James Creelman, a war correspondent, who was wounded in an effort to seize the Spanish flag. Another correspondent, Caspar Whitney, was not far behind Mr. Creelman.

The location of the graves on the battlefield surrounding Caney indicates with substantial accuracy the line of attack by the various regiments of the Second Division of the Fifth Army Corps. The first to appear on the route of Chaffee's brigade which led the advance of the division are those of Ryan, of the 17th Regiment, and "McK.", which are located a half a mile or more eastward from Caney. (See Map, Fig. 97, 203-204.) The next grave is that of Bratten, of the 12th (No. 202), which is on the Rodé, about eight hundred yards east of the village. Then follow, a couple of hundred yards nearer Caney, the graves of Lieut. Churchman, of the 12th, and of

FIG. 96

View of the eastern suburb of Caney, looking northwesterly from El Viso.

Corporal Ayer and Private Kerrigan, of the 7th (Nos. 199–201). Still further along the road, about one hundred and fifty yards from Lieut. Churchman's grave, and on the other side of the little stream that here runs down from the Sierra, is the grave of Nathaniel Isler, of the 7th Regiment; and then a little beyond this to the north is the American cemetery with its forty-three graves of soldiers all from the three regiments of Gen. Chaffee's command. Thus the monumental record of martial graves indicates that the line of advance of this brigade was along an arc beginning on the southeast of the line of circumvallation, and sweeping around the eastern circumference to a point in the northeast.

Passing to the southward of the stone fort one comes upon the grave of Lieut. McCorkle (see Map, 210–217) and seven men of the 25th Infantry. The position is nearly south of the stone fort. Northwestwardly from this group of the 25th Infantry are five graves of the 4th Regulars (Nos. 205–209) on a line almost east of the stone fort; and to the southeast, a couple of hundred yards, is the grave of Sergeant Kirby (No. 218), also of the Fourth. Col. Miles's 3d Brigade is thus traced by the record of the graves in its attack from the south and southwest of El Viso.

Still further south of the graves of the 4th and 25th Infantry, and about a mile from Caney, is a group of mounds containing a number of men of the 2d Massachusetts, and one or more, perhaps, of the 22d United States Infantry (Nos. 219–229). Crossing the Santiago Road from this point and moving northward is found a group of three graves, of which one at least, Private Sutter, and perhaps the others are of the 22d Infantry (Nos. 230–232). Northwest of this group, in a line almost due west of the Stone Fort and southwestwardly from Caney, just

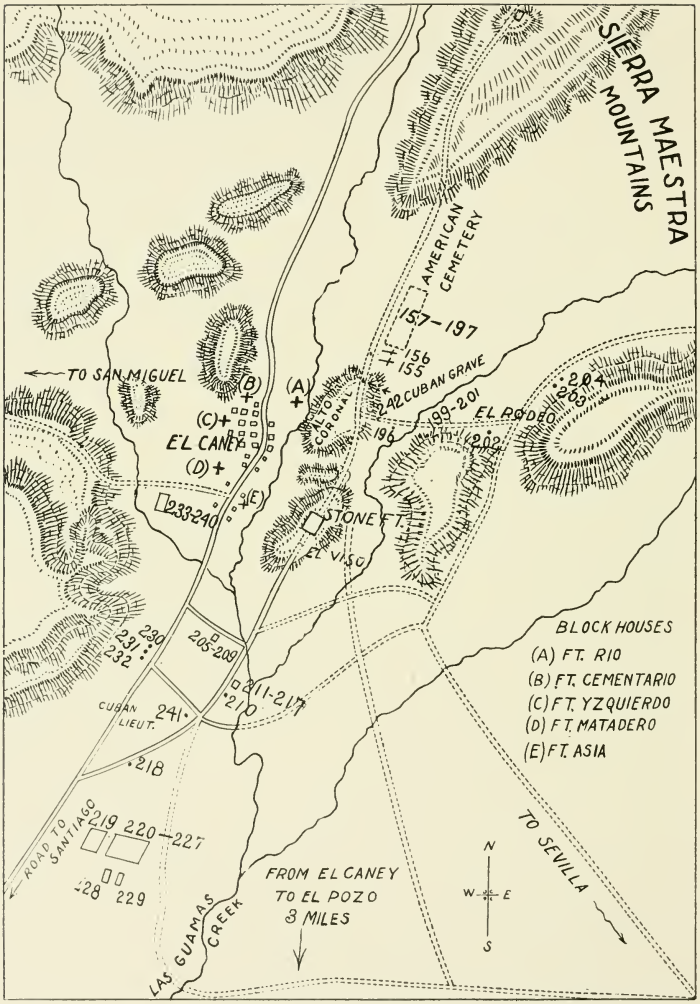


FIG. 97

Map showing approximately the location of graves on the firing line around Caney.

under the shadow of a grove of cocoanut trees, is a large mound containing seven men of the 22d and 8th Regular Infantry (Nos. 233–240). Thus, we have located by the burial sites the line of movement and attack of Gen. Ludlow's brigade as being on the extreme south, and swinging around to the southwest and west of the Stone Fort. This distribution of the martial graves of the slain would indicate that the American firing line was drawn around Caney in the form of a vast horse-shoe, with perhaps a narrow opening towards the mountains on the northwest, and a considerable gap on the southwest.

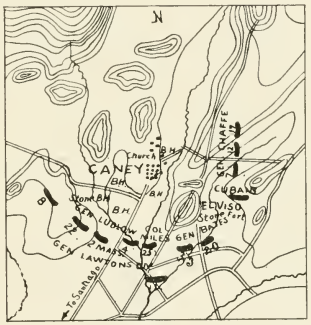


FIG. 98

American line of investment around Caney.

It may interest readers who are disposed to study the value of such records as this book contains for determining the actual movements of the various organizations engaged in the battle of Caney, to compare the above statement, made from my records of graves found upon the field, with the several reports of the commanding officers of Lawton's division. I venture to reproduce (Fig. 98) a map which shows the position of the various brigades as they are given by Lieut.-Col. Miley.* It will be seen that the monumental record as above established corresponds with the written reports and with this semi-official chart. Thus, indubitable evidence is presented of the accuracy of accounts given by commanding officers of the movements of their troops, and one is able to notice with a reasonable

* John D. Miley, "In Cuba with Shafter."

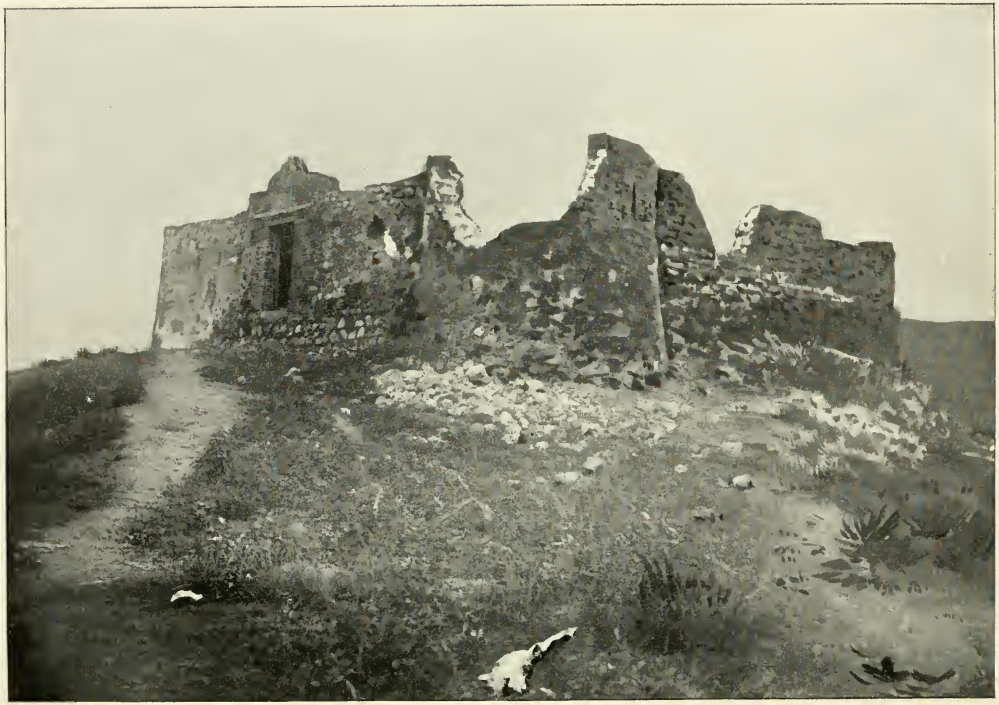


FIG. 99.

The Stone Fort on El Viso, Caney, after bombardment by the Americans.

degree of certainty by the proportionate losses, the active parts taken by the several brigades and regiments.

The position of Gen. Bates in Col. Miley's map is shown as closing up a gap in the firing line to the southeast of the stone fort on El Viso, thus completing the circle of investment. This brigade was composed of the Third and Twentieth United States Infantry. When I first observed that Miley had located it in the above position I was disposed to think it an error. But on looking up the facts I found the explanation. Gen. Bates and his brigade had been assigned to duty at Siboney and along the adjacent shore to protect the landing of supplies and ammunition. He was ordered up to the neighborhood of Shafter's headquarters, but not in time to take part in the forward movements either upon Caney or the San Juan hills. When the unexpected resistance met by Gen. Lawton was reported to Gen. Shafter, he at once forwarded Bates' Brigade to reinforce Lawton. He appears to have arrived upon the field about 2.45 p. m., just before the final charge was ordered. The part he took in the action is lacking in details in the published accounts, and most of the war-books fail even to mention his presence.

There is just one item in the mortuary records of the battlefield, however, which shows that his brigade was there and in about the position indicated by Col. Miley. Among the soldiers buried in a large trench about a mile south of the Stone Fort is the name of Albert Jindra, Third United States Infantry (which was in Bates' Brigade), who appears on the official report as having died July 2d, 1898. As he was buried on the field with those who fell in action, it seems probable that he received a mortal wound while in battle, although, of course, it may be that he died from other causes after the fight. At all events, the

FIG. 100

Graves of Lieut. Dickinson and Lieut. Wansboro in American Cemetery, Canea.

place of interment quite accords with Miley's statement, as it is not far from the position which the left of Bates' Brigade occupied.

My visit to Caney was unfortunately marred by rain, so that the photographer who accompanied me with a field camera was much hampered in getting views. Those obtained in the intervals between the showers were marred by the mist in the air. The stone fortress of Caney on El Viso is seated upon an isolated valley, girt about on the southern, eastern and northern sides by mountain ranges and isolated spurs. It is commanded on the north by a height known as Alto Coronal, from which the view has been taken. During the assault upon the fortress the place was gradually invested and attacked from all points. Nearly the entire firing line as seen from El Viso at the Stone Fort and from Alto Coronal, is shown in the series of photographic cuts taken under my direction by a Spanish-Cuban photographer.

Fig. 101

Stick markers at the graves of soldiers in American Cemetery, Caney.

The rain not only marred the views, but made the search after graves unusually difficult. We were compelled to march the entire line of circumvallation trudging through the rain, wading in mud, and wet by drippings from the rank vegetation. Fortunately, we received through the courtesy of the village Alcalde two local guides who were of great service in directing us to the sleeping places of our heroes.

On the northeast of the village at the distance of about one-fourth of a mile, just over the slope of the commanding height Alto Coronal, is what may be called and is called by the

FIG. 102

Graves of enlisted men in the American Cemetery, Caney.

villagers the American Cemetery. It lies to the east of the road, and on the margin of a garden of melons, whose rank vines had overspread the surface and were sending out their tendrils and were spreading their leaves toward and even over the heads of the graves. The mounds face west; there are forty-three in all, the first two, heading the column toward the south, being the grave of 2d Lieut. Thomas A. Wansboro and 1st Lieut. Walter M. Dickinson (Fig. 100). These are the only two in the group that are marked with names. The others are laid side by side in a long row with two sticks thrust into the head (Fig. 101). On one of these two sticks is penciled a number corresponding with its position in the line. Thus, counting Lieut. Wansboro's grave as No. 1 and Lieut. Dickinson's No. 2, the next grave has on the second and smaller stick the number "3" (Fig. 101). So on throughout the entire series. The two sticks are placed at the foot of every mound, at least at the points opposite the heads of the officers' graves. Perhaps the officers were buried with their heads toward the garden, and the men with heads toward the road. Or a mistake may have been made by those who marked the graves or set up the head-sticks. This orderly numbering suggested that some one had made a systematic record of the interred soldiers, and had placed the numbers on the graves to correspond with numbers recorded, and thus raised the hope that the unnamed graves might be identified.

Next the grave of Lieut. Dickinson, which is the second in the row, is erected a finger-board or post seven or eight feet high, on which is cut "12 Inf." and in the corner of the board the figure "9." Opposite No. 25 of the series is another similar post on which is inscribed "2d Div 3d Brig. 7th Inf." I inferred that the graves included between the first post and the

second contain soldiers of the 12th Infantry U. S. Army, while those between the second post and the end contain men of the 7th U. S. Infantry. However, an examination of the official report of the soldiers killed and buried at this point did not support the inference. On Captain Howell's list twenty-three names of enlisted men from the 7th Regiment follow the name of Lieut. Dickinson which, including Lieut. Wansboro, make twenty-four from that regiment. Seven names of the same regiment follow, but not in consecutive order, being intermingled with six names of the 12th Infantry and five of the 17th. Officers and men, the cemetery includes thirty-one of the 7th Regular Infantry, six of the 12th and six of the 17th. At least three others of the 7th were killed, probably before the column reached the Alto Coronal, making thirty-three, an enormous death rate for the number of men engaged.

No. 155. The first grave of the series is that of 2d Lieut. Thomas A. Wansboro, of the 7th Infantry, who was killed in action July 1st. The mound is bordered somewhat irregularly with stones, and a rude cross at the head bears the inscription on the inner face of the cross-piece (Fig. 103). The foot of the grave, as probably of all the others, is toward the thickly hedged bank of the road from which it is separated by about 18 inches. The thick foliage overhangs the heads of all the graves. The following tribute was paid by a British officer, Capt. Arthur H. Lee, to this gallant young soldier:

"Close in front of me, a slight and boyish lieutenant compelled my attention by his persistent and reckless gallantry. Whenever a man was hit he would dart to his assistance regardless of the fire his exposure inevitably drew. Suddenly he sprang to his feet gazing intently into the village; but what he saw we never knew, for he was instantly shot through the heart

and fell over backward clutching at the air. I followed the men who carried him to the road and asked them his name.

"'Second Lieutenant Wansboro, sir, of the Seventh Infantry, and you will never see his better. He fought like a little tiger.'

"A few convulsive gasps, and the poor boy was dead, and as we laid him in a shady spot by the side of the road, the Sergeant reverently drew a handkerchief over his face and said:

"'Good-bye, Lieutenant, you were a brave little officer, and you died like a true soldier.'" *

No. 156. The next grave is inscribed: "Lieut. W. M. Dickinson, 17th Infantry, killed in action, July 1st, 1898." Lieut. Dickinson's grave is bordered with large bricks, set on edge. A single brick is laid lengthwise near the foot. The head is marked by a marble stone bearing the above inscription, placed by relatives or friends. Two small coleus plants are in front of the headstone on either side of the mound. Like the grave of Lieut. Wansboro, the head of the mound is toward the melon garden. The owner of this field is Nicanor Perera, who, I was informed, is in San Domingo.

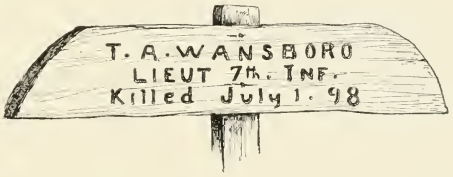


FIG. 103

Marker at Lieut. Wansboro's Grave.

The supposition that the unnamed graves in the American Cemetery at Caney might be identified by the numbers upon the wooden sticks placed thereon proved to be well-grounded.

* Capt. Arthur H. Lee, R. A., British Military Attaché, in *Scribner's Magazine* for October, 1898, "The Regulars at El Caney."

Capt. Howell, of the 7th Infantry, furnished to the Adjutant General of the Army, August 13, 1898, a list of names of the soldiers who had been killed and buried at the above spot. The list was incomplete as to many of the Christian names of the dead and in several cases imperfect. But from an official list received by the courtesy of Gen. Ludington, of the Quartermaster's Department, I have been able to complete the list of Captain Howell, and to identify all the names furnished by him except three. These are "F. Riney, Corporal, I, 7th United States Infantry," and "R. A. Jones, Private, B, 7th United Infantry" and "I. Amter, Sergeant, F Company, 7th United States Infantry." These names do not appear on the official list. It is possible that they may be disguised by incorrect spelling, but I can find on that list no names of the men of the three regiments represented in the cemetery, who were killed on the 1st of July, that seem to apply to the above.

Some other names thus disguised I identified with reasonable certainty. For example: "Geiney, Private, F Company, 12th United States Infantry," does not appear upon the official list; but the name of Patrick Gearin, of the same company and regiment, who died at the same date, does appear. Again, the name of "——— Conoley, Private, D, 7th United States Infantry," does not appear upon the official list. But the name of "Con. Crowley" (No. 173), of the same company and regiment, who died July 1st, does appear. I have therefore substituted the latter names for the former. No. 190 of my list which appears in Capt. Howell's report as "——— McB———" I have considered to be "John McBride, D Company, 17th United States Infantry," whose name is on the official list as having been killed July 1st. Another example is the name of

"Marshall O'Dowd, Private, A, 7th United States Infantry," which does not appear on the official list. But the name of "John R. O'Dowd" of the same company and regiment and date of death does appear, and I have therefore entered that name upon my list, No. 162.

Concerning the three additional names upon Capt. Howell's report, it may be said that they are probably correct. At least, there ought to be three names in addition to those identified as on the Adjutant-General's list, in order to make up the number of graves observed by me in the cemetery. Including Lieuts. Dickinson and Wansboro, I counted forty-three, and the numbers upon the sticks marking the graves of enlisted men ranged from No. 3 to No. 43. Including Capt. Howell's three names, the list is complete as indicated by me. Omitting them, there are three graves lacking. I am not able to reconcile the discrepancy, or furnish the lacking names. But it is probable that Capt. Howell, or some officer or man of the three regiments represented in this El Caney graveyard, will be able to do so. Nor can I be confident that the names as they appear in the following list are in the same order as the numbers upon the sticks, proceeding from No. 3 to 43, as above indicated. I believe that Mr. Rhodes, in his work of disinterring the remains of these soldiers, has proceeded upon the supposition that the order runs as in Capt. Howell's report, and this is not improbable. At all events, the friends of the dead may confidently rely upon that gentleman doing the best that can possibly be done to secure exact identification of the dead. I have attached in parenthesis the number of every grave, as in the above statement, to the numbered name of my own series as it appears below. That they are identical, however, must be regarded as at present only hypothetical.

No. 157. (3) Robert Dudley Davis, Private, G Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 158. (4) John A. Cleary, Private, G Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 159. (5) John W. Long, Private, G Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 160. (6) William F. Crocker, Private, A Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 161. (7) John W. Jones, Quartermaster Sergeant, E Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 162. (8) John R. O'Dowd, Private, A Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 163. (9) Arthur C. McAllister, Private, I Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 164. (10) Patrick J. Shea, Corporal, A Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st.

No. 165. (11) Frank E. Wert, Musician, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 166. (12) Frederick Timannus, Private, E Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 167. (13) Harry Clark, Private, A Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 168. (14) F. Riney, Corporal, I Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898. (Not on the Adjutant-General's list.)

No. 169. (15) Daniel Conway, Corporal, C Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 170. (16) Francis Hulme, Private, C Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 171. (17) John W. Slaven, Private, G Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 172. (18) William H. Balche, Private, C Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 173. (19) Con. Crowley, Private, D Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 174. (20) I. Amter, Sergeant, F Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898. Not on the official list above referred to.

No. 175. (21) Edward Seymour White, Private, C Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 176. (22) August Sanberg, Private, E Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 177. (23) James M. Dermoody, Private (?), G Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 178. (24) Jesse M. Hunt, Corporal, B Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 179. (25) Patrick McGraw, Private, D Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 180. (26) Raimund Miller, Sergeant, F Company, 12th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 181. (27) Walter Brown, Private, A Company, 17th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 182. (28) Leonard Weber, Private, G Company, 17th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 183. (29) John Dahl, Sergeant, G Company, 12th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 184. (30) John Maguire, Private, G Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 185. (31) Christian Hees, Corporal, E Company, 17th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 186. (32) Adolphus C. Scott, Private, F Company, 12th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 187. (33) Lee Carson, Private, B Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 188. (34) Albert H. Gray, Private, B Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 189. (35) Daniel Maher, Private, D Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 190. (36) John McBride, Private, E Company, 17th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 191. (37) R. A. Jones, Private, B Company, 7th United States Infantry. (Not on the Adjutant-General's list.)

No. 192. (38) George Shields, Private, H Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 193. (39) Silas T. Wilson, Sergeant, F Company, 12th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 194. (40) William T. Fuson, Private, A Company, 17th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 195. (41) Patrick Gearin, F, 12th United States States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 196. (42) Philip Lehr, Private, C Company, 12th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 197. (43) Frederick W. Dwyer, Private, B Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898.

No. 198. "Nathaniel S. Isler, private, H Co., 7th Inf., died July 1st, 1898." The guide led us southwardly and eastwardly along a rocky, sunken trail, which he named the "Rodé." On the right of this road, as one moves from the town, and about ten feet from the track, is a single grave. It is on the edge of a field four hundred yards or more from the village, and is elevated above the road. The fort bears southwest. Three large brown bowlders mark the head and help to support a rustic stake on which the name "N. ISLER" is

dimly written in pencil, and is difficult to decipher. Just beyond the foot of the grave is planted a post as a sort of guide-board, on the hewn face of which at the top is the inscription "3d Brigade, 2d Division, 7th Inf." (Fig. 104.) A small bushlet grows between the mound and this guide-post.

FIG. 104

Grave of Nathaniel S. Isler, 7th U. S. Infantry, near Caney.

No. 199. Lieutenant Clark Churchman, Second Lieutenant United States Infantry. Died July 2d, 1898.

A quarter of a mile east of Caney and a short distance south of the winding, rocky trail, the Rodé, with the fort bearing southwest between three and four hundred yards distant, in an open field, surrounded by a bed of short, soft grass, is the

grave of Lieut. Churchman, of the 12th United States Infantry. It is a plain earthen mound, with a stick to mark the head. Just beyond this, to the east, is erected a guide-board which stands about five feet high, and on this is inscribed the name and record. There is a clump of bushes close by to the east, and westwardly the field slopes gently down toward the village.

This gallant young officer graduated at West Point with the Class of A. D. 1898, and joined the Twelfth Regiment at Tampa, Florida, May 21st of the same year. He was ill with malarial fever when Lawton's division started on its march toward Caney, but insisted on accompanying his regiment. On the morning of the battle he was so sick that the surgeon urged him to remain in the hospital. But he entered the fight and led his platoon until two o'clock in the afternoon, directing its fire, as stated by the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the regiment, "in a cool and gallant manner." He had just given his platoon the range of the fort, which was about three hundred and fifty yards distant, and had directed them in the firing of two volleys. He stood surveying the enemy through his field glasses with the utmost composure while the Mauser bullets rained around him. Having ascertained the range to his satisfaction, he had uttered the order "Aim!" and before he could complete the order "Fire!" was struck with a bullet and fell mortally wounded.

Shortly before his death, Lieut. Churchman handed to one of his fellow-officers, First Lieut. Wilson Uline, a fragment of soiled and crumpled paper, on which was written the words, "If buried here let grave be distinctly marked," and signed with his name and rank (See Chap. II, Fig. 15). That was all. But the silent message expresses his longing to sleep the last

sleep in the dear home land; his thoughtful regard for loved ones whose sorrow would be alleviated by the sad satisfaction of recovering the body of their son and giving it due funeral

FIG. 105

Graves of Lieut. Clark Churchman, Corporal Ayer and Private Kerrigan, near Caney.

honors; and his confidence that his kindred or his comrades would surely search for him on the distant battlefields of Cuba. Noble young soldier! His dying words have voiced the feeling of every fallen hero, and have inspired the writer of these

lines to persevere in fulfilling that duty to the dead and to their loving friends to which he was assigned by the highest authority in the nation.

Lieut. Churchman was the only son and only child of Col. Caleb Churchman, a veteran of the Civil War. Mrs. Churchman, the young man's mother, sent a message to me in Cuba, requesting that I would search for the grave of their son. On my return I was able to satisfy the anxiety of these bereaved parents, and give them a drawing of their son's grave and specific directions as to where his body could be found. Subsequently a relative was sent to Santiago, the remains were disinterred, and on their arrival in the United States were taken to West Point, where they were buried with most impressive ceremonies in the cemetery of the Military Academy where repose all that is mortal of many heroes of other conflicts for the honor of our country and its flag.

The young Lieutenant, who had left the Academy but a few months before to enter upon his brief career as an officer of the army, was known to nearly all the professors and undergraduates of the institution. He was loved and admired for his manly and Christian character by all his associates and instructors. The obsequies, therefore, awakened unusual interest and excited the tenderest feeling. The sword and belt of the young officer lay upon the casket. The Post flag was at half mast and all academic duties were suspended during the service. Gathered in the historic chapel were the superintendent, professors, officers on duty at the Post, their families, and the entire corps of cadets. The Chaplain of the Military Academy was assisted in the service by a young clergyman who had been a classmate of Lieut. Churchman in Trinity College, Hartford. While the cadet choir sang the closing hymn the casket was

borne down the aisle upon the shoulders of eight soldiers. An escort from the detachment of Regulars was drawn up in front of the Chapel, and as the casket was placed upon a caisson, the Academy band played "Nearer, My God, to Thee." Then the procession moved to the sound of the funeral march, passed the Battle Monument, and Trophy Point, and so out the north road to the cemetery, where the young hero was left to sleep side by side with other youthful heroes of Caney and San Juan. The farewell shots were fired above the "spot where the hero was buried," and the notes of "Lights out!" blown by the bugler, reverberated among the hills of the Hudson highlands.

FIG. 106

Stick marker at the grave of Corporal Ayer and Private Kerrigan.

In a large single grave to the northeast of Lieut. Churchman's are buried two men (See Fig. 105). Their names are inscribed upon the side of a rustic stake hammered securely into the ground at the head of the mound (see Fig. 106). The inscriptions are as follows:

"Corp. Chas. L. Ayer, Co. A, 7th U. S. Inf.
Prvt. E. Kerrigan, Co. B, 7th Inf."

I experienced some difficulty in delineating the last surname, but decided it to be as above.

No. 200. Corporal Charles A. Ayer, Co. A, 7th U. S. Infantry, died July 1st, 1898.

No. 201. Private E. Kerrigan, Co. B, 7th U. S. Infantry. Died July 1st, 1898. This name is not on my copy of the official list, and I find no name that could be considered its equivalent.

No. 202. Prvt. Clarence C. Bratten, Co. B, 12th Inf. U. S.

Army. Died July 1st, 1898. The grave of Private Bratten is a lone mound in the edge of a field about eighteen feet from the road, a little east of south of the fort. It is a simple earthen mound with a tuft of tall grass at the foot and a rustic stake at the head, on which is the inscription. Beyond the grave is erected a tall fingerboard about 6 ft. high, on the cross-piece of which is recorded: "Prvt. C. C. Bratten, Co. B, 12th Inf. 12." A path along the edge of the field passes by the foot of the grave.

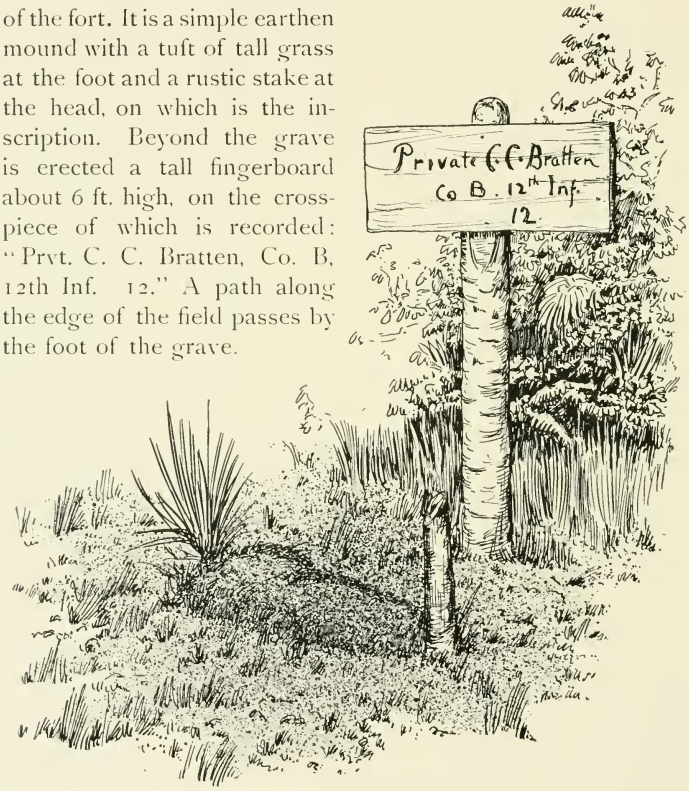


Fig. 107

Grave of C. C. Bratten 12th U. S. Infantry, near Caney.

Turning out of the Rodé track into a trail that leads toward the northeast on the right hand side of the road are located two graves. The soldiers who sleep within them appear to have been the first fatalities in the fighting around Caney, and it is probable that they were in the advance column of Gen. Lawton's division as it moved forward to the attack. One grave is marked "Ryan, G, 7th Inf." The marker upon the other grave has nothing discernable but the letters "McK." The point at which these men are buried is about one thousand yards northeast of the village of El Caney and almost in a line eastward from the American Cemetery.

No. 203. Samuel J. Ryan, Private, G Company, 7th United States Infantry. Died July 2d, 1898. The full name, with company connection and date of death, have been taken from the official records. It would appear that Ryan received a mortal wound on this occason and died in the temporary field hospital on the following day.

No. 204. "——— McK———." God only knows the rest.

We pass now to the southward of the fort, and to the westward of the mountain creek that incloses it within its forks. The village is due north about four hundred yards distant. Here are buried in one large grave, near two large mango trees, five soldiers of the Fourth infantry. The field in which their grave is located is known, after a Cuban custom to designate plantations by some title, by the name of "Santa Teresa de Jesus," as our guide informed us, and is owned by "Lawyer Plana," of Santiago de Cuba. The mound is nine feet square, and is walled about by rocks, three of the corners being marked by a pile of stones with a large rock as the centre. On the southwest corner is erected a pyramid of stones over three feet high, from whose apex rises a board on which are recorded the

FIG. 108

Grave of soldiers of the 4th U. S Infantry killed at Caney.

names of those interred within the tomb. The names are also recorded on a curved tile which is leaned against the stones on one side. A path through the field passes along one side of the grave, which is fringed by plumed grasses and low shrubs. The fort bears to the northeast, and the grave is but a short distance southeast of the road between Santiago and Caney. (Fig. 108.)

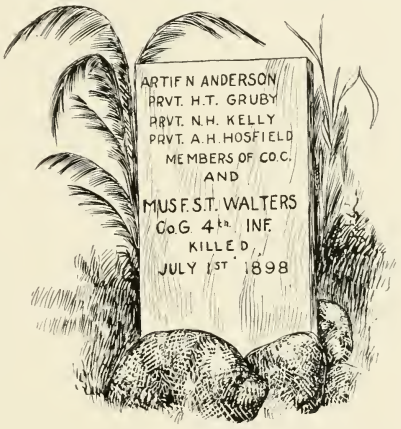


FIG. 109

Headboard at the grave of Fourth Infantrymen, Caney.

No. 205. Artificer Nele Anderson, Company C, 4th United States Infantry. Killed July 1, 1898.

No. 206. Private Henry T. Gruby, Company C, 25th United States Infantry. Killed July 1, 1898.

No. 207. Private Her. H. Kelley, Company C, 25th United States Infantry. Killed July 1, 1898.

No. 208. Private Albert Hossfield, Company C, 25th United States Infantry. Killed July 1, 1898.

No. 209. Musician F. S. Y. (or J.) Walters, Company G, 4th United States Infantry. Killed July 1, 1898. This name does not appear upon the copy of the official list in my possession.

Another interesting group of graves is found in a southwesterly direction from the above, and directly south of the

town, perhaps a quarter of a mile. It is on a plantation known as Santa Thomas, the property of Don Angel Choven of Santiago de Cuba. The graves are on the edge of the field with the heads toward the trail, between which and the field is a natural hedge of trees and shrubs.

No. 210. The grave of Lieut. H. L. McCorkle, 25th U. S. Infantry, is an earthen mound marked originally by a headboard supported by a heap of bowlders (Fig. 111). A cross formed of stones rests upon the breast (Fig. 110). The grave had subsequently been surrounded by an iron enclosure, of the sort that one sees in the windows of Cuban houses, as a protection against the outside world. My own views of this group failed in development, and instead of giving my pencil sketch I reproduce a view bought in a photographer's shop in Santiago (Fig. 112). This shows the grave in a different sort of fence from that which surrounded it when seen by me. The boardlike enclosures seen on each side were wanting, and in their place was an iron fence extending along each side the entire length. A tall iron frame with figured work stood at the head, and a similar one at the foot, thus wholly surrounding the mound, leaving the original headboard intact but outside the frame.

Fig. 110

Cross of stones on Lieut. McCorkle's grave.

Nos. 211–217. Seven soldiers of the Twenty-fifth Infantry are buried in one grave at the side of their young officer. The four regular regiments composed of colored citizens, engaged in the various actions before Santiago, acquitted themselves with steadiness, skill and valor that won from all, even the most

prejudiced, the warmest encomiums. At Las Guasimas the Tenth Cavalry joined with the First Regiment of Cavalry (white) in the flank movement that supported so effectively the Rough Riders, the First Volunteer Cavalry. In the charge on San Juan hills the same regiment (Tenth), together with the Ninth Cavalry and Twenty-fourth Infantry, both composed of colored troops, mounted the bullet-swept slopes side by side with their white comrades, the very flower of the regular army. At Caney the Twenty-fifth Infantry fought with equal valor and distinction, and on the final charge, which won the fort, joined with the Twelfth Infantry which led the assault. The seven soldiers who sleep at the side of Lieut. McCorkle on Santa Thomas plantation are the silent witnesses of the patriotism, manliness and courage of their race.

Fig. 111

Headboard at Lieut. McCorkle's grave.

Their grave is a large plain mound, having at the head two boards side by side on which the names are inscribed. These are supported in place by several bowlders. A tall stick rises from the mound before the headboards, probably the original marker, and a shorter stick is thrust into the foot. (See Fig. 112.) Two young trees grow just back of the headboards of the two graves from which sections of the bark have been hewed, and within the clean flat spaces have been placed on one tree the name of Lieut. McCorkle, and on the other the names of his men, above which is the phrase "25th Inft. Roll of Honor." (See Fig. 113.) The record on the headboards was

FIG. 112

Graves of Lieut. McCorkle and seven men of the 25th U. S. Inf., near Caney.

probably made after that on the tablet had been carved, and is more accurate. The list follows.

No. 211. Corporal Benjamin Cousins, Company H, 25th United States Infantry, killed July 1, 1898.

No. 212. Private French Payne, Company B, 25th United States Infantry, killed July 1, 1898.

No. 213. Private Tom Howe, Company D, 25th United States Infantry, killed July 1, 1898.

No. 214. Private John B. Phelps, Company D, 25th United States Infantry, killed July 1, 1898.

No. 215. Private John W. Steele, Company D, 25th United States Infantry, killed July 1, 1898.

No. 216. Private Aaron Leftwitch, Company G, 25th United States Infantry, killed July 1, 1898.

No. 217. Private Albert Strother, Company H, 25th United States Infantry, killed July 1, 1898.

No. 218. Over a winding trail leading into the road to Santiago in a southerly direction from Caney, and about a mile therefrom, our guide led us to the grave of Sergt. P. Kirby, Co. F, 4th U. S. Infantry. The mound is edged with stones, a large bowlder is placed at the foot and a headboard supported by bowlders bears the inscription: "I. H. S. Sergt. P. Kirby, Co. F. U. S. A. Killed July 1, 1898." The record of the regiment is somewhat in doubt on my notes, but appears to be the "4th" Infantry. The grave is on a slight bluff above the road, and is almost under the shadow of three fine cocoanut trees. It is on the "San Andrea" plantation, belonging to Mr. Pancho Godet (Fig. 114).

From the grave of Sergeant Kirby one passes southerly through a cluster of shrubs and young trees along the edge of the Sunken Road, and through a cocoanut grove into an open

FIG. 113

Tree-tablet commemorative of members of the 25th U. S. Infantry killed at Caney.

field. Here is a little cemetery on the eastern side of the main road leading to Santiago, and about a mile from Caney. It is on the verge of a mango grove and is composed chiefly of men of the Second Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. There are two large mounds containing enlisted men and two graves of officers. (Fig. 117.)

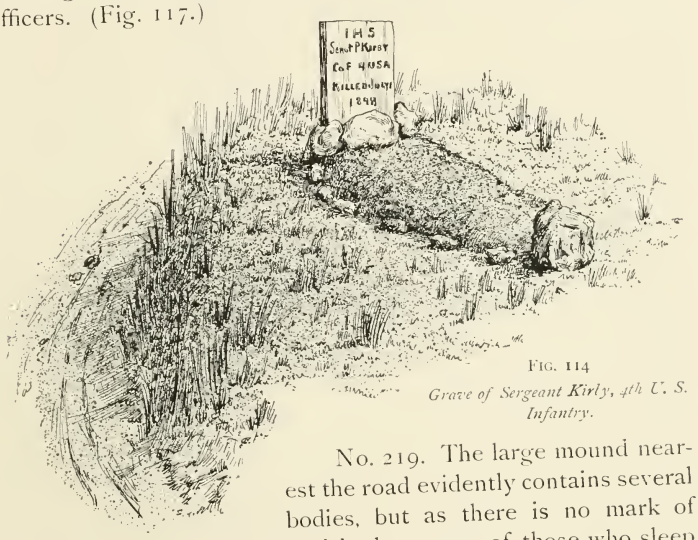


Fig. 114

Grave of Sergeant Kirly, 4th U. S. Infantry.

No. 219. The large mound nearest the road evidently contains several bodies, but as there is no mark of any sort by which to distinguish the names of those who sleep within, one can only conjecture their names by an examination of the Adjutant General's list after eliminating all the men of the Second Brigade who are reported as having been killed on July 1st and who are not otherwise accounted for.

Nos. 220-227. The large mound just east of the above contains eight bodies. The only mark upon it was a small stick cut from a tree, about fourteen inches long and two inches

thick. From one side the bark had been cut away, and several names, most of which would be indistinguishable by an ordinary observer, were written upon the hewed surface in pencil.

2d Mass & 3d
A H PACKARD
— — RICHMOND

BROOKS E
F E Moody K
J Malone B

C—— Jindra B
B 3d Reg.

Chas. Dugas
Co D 2d Mass

M J Warner
Co B 22d

Fig. 115

Interpretation of inscription on the marker, Fig. 116.

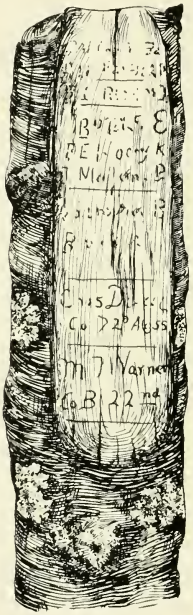


Fig. 116

Drawn from the marker on a large mound on Caney battlefield. To show difficulty of deciphering names.

Mr. Rhodes brought this stick home with him, after having erected a headboard, in order to make out the names by the aid of official reports. From it I have made a drawing (Fig.

116) which imperfectly reproduces the rude and marred penciling evidently made by an unpracticed hand. It will show, at least, something of the difficulty which attended the work of deciphering inscriptions and designating the graves on these fields. I also print side by side with the cut (Fig. 115) the names given me by Mr. Rhodes as his interpretation of the scroll. In the roll which follows I give the full names as I have restored them from the official list in the War Department. From this list one name is wanting which appears upon the stick (and it is the most distinct of all) that of M. J. Warner, B Company, 22d United States Infantry.

Probably it will be impossible to identify individually the names within this mound. The existence of some system of marking, and perhaps a little more pains and intelligence and less haste on the part of the hospital corps or burial party, would have enabled us to distinguish every person and restore the remains to friends in America. As it is, the only satisfaction permitted is the knowledge that the remains of some one of the eight heroes who slept side by side within this rude grave, represent the friend who died in the cause of liberty and humanity in front of the Spanish fort on El Viso at Caney. However, it may justly be remembered in this case that after the battle Gen. Lawton's Division, under imperative orders, was hurried forward as rapidly as possible to reinforce the remainder of the Fifth Army Corps in front of Santiago, and to take its place to the northwest in the line of investment on the right of the Cavalry Division.

No. 220. Private Arthur H. Packard, Company G, 2d Mass. Vol. Inf., killed July 1, 1898.

No. 221. Private George A. Richmond, Company G, 2d Mass. Vol. Inf., killed July 1, 1898.

No. 222. Private George A. Brooks, Company E, 2d Mass. Vol. Inf., killed July 1, 1898.

No. 223. Private Frank E. Moody, Company K, 2d Mass. Vol. Inf., killed July 1, 1898.

No. 224. Private John J. Malone, Company B, 2d Mass. Vol. Inf., killed July 1, 1898.

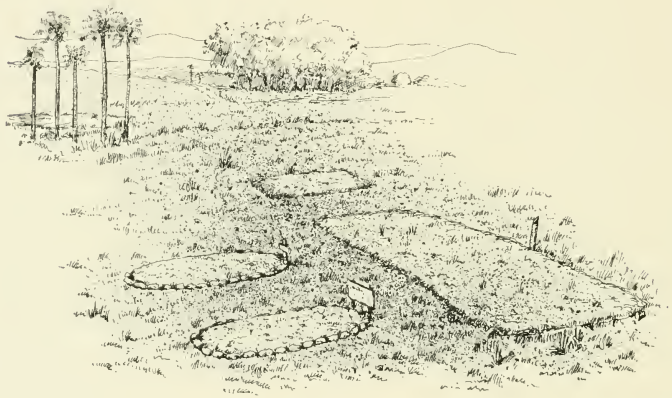


Fig. 117

Graves of Lieuts. Bernard and Field, and various soldiers of the 2d Massachusetts Volunteers, known and unknown, at Caney. Lieut. Bernard's grave is nearest the front.

No. 225. Private Albert Jindra, Company B, 3d U. S. Inf., killed July 1, 1898.

No. 226. Private Anatole Dugas, Co. D, 2d Mass. Vol. Inf., killed July 1, 1898. On the marker this name appears to be Charles Dugas. But as no such name appears on the official list of killed, and as the above name is there given, I have assumed that this is the correct record.

No. 227. Private M. J. Warner, Company B, 22d U. S.

Inf., killed July 1, 1898. This name appears not to have been reported to the Adjutant General's office, at least it is not upon the official list in my possession.

No. 228. Just south of these two large mounds are the graves of two officers. The one nearest the road is that of First Lieutenant Charles H. Field, L Company, 2d Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, who was killed July 1, 1898. The grave is girdled about with stone and is neatly marked with a cross headboard bearing an inscription which designates the inmate.

No. 229. The grave next to Lieutenant Field on the east is that of Second Lieut. John J. Bernard of the 6th United States Infantry, killed July 1st, 1898. It is surrounded with stones, and a square bit of a box cover supported upon two sticks bears the inscription. This assigns Lieut. Bernard to the Fourth Infantry, but his name appears upon the official list as belonging to the Sixth Infantry.

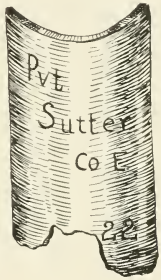


FIG. 118
Tile marker at Private Sutter's grave.

Southward of Caney, just off the main road, are three graves, only one of which could be identified. They were made in front of a house which had been completely destroyed for the sake of the dry wood of the interior. A heap of tiles marks its site. In the transit to and fro to get the wood, the crosses and marks which the guides informed me had been on the graves were removed. I made a search among the rubbish and at last found a broken tile on which was an inscription. The piece exactly fitted into a broken section fixed in the soil at the head of one of the graves, which was thus identified as that of Private Sutter, Co. F, 22d Infantry (Fig. 118). The graves had almost lost their

characteristic form, but the slight depression in the ground sufficiently designated them. I had them all bordered with roofing tiles from the ruins, so as to restore the semblance of graves, and fixed Sutter's marker in place, so that identification for permanent designation might be possible (Fig. 119).

No. 230. Gustavus E. Sutter, private, E Co., 22d U. S. Infantry. Killed July 1st, 1898.

No. 231–232. Unknown American Soldiers.

Nos. 233–240. Moving northward from the last-named group of graves along the Santiago Road toward Caney, one comes to a plantation of thirteen cocoanut trees which extend in a westerly direction about two hundred yards from the road. At the end of the cocoanut grove and some three hundred yards southward of the village, is a large mound which contains seven men from the 8th and 22d United States Infantry regiments. Their names, however, are not recorded and can only be obtained tentatively by a careful study of the official reports. It is possible, however, that the officers or men of these two regiments have information which would supply the deficiency. Immediately in front of the grave are two mango trees. This mound appears to mark the extreme northwestern line of attack, and would indicate that the left of Gen. Ludlow's brigade extended to this point. It is probable that it extended further around and joined with the right of Gen. Chaffee's brigade. But as far as the record of the graves indicates, an opening was left in the line of circumvallation at this northeastern angle.

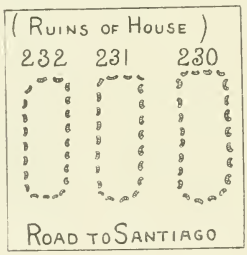


Fig. 119

Diagram of graves of Private Sutter (230) and comrades, Caney.

In the list of martial graves near El Caney are two which were overlooked until too late to record in their proper connection. They are on the way to San Miguel, west of the village. They lie in low ground near the road and on the south side thereof.

No. 337. The first grave is that of Louis Kocarnik (Kosaynik) of Battery F, 4th Artillery, who died July 1st, 1898. The date indicates that he may have died of wounds received in the battle of July 1st. His grave is about four hundred yards, as Mr. Rhodes estimates, west of Caney (Fig. 120.)

No. 338. The second grave is one hundred yards nearer Caney than Kocarnik's, and is that of Private M. T. Corbin, Troop C, United States Cavalry, who died July 6 (?), 1898. His name is not in my copy of the official list. The date indicates that he probably died of sickness.

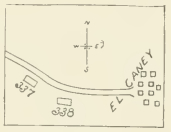


FIG. 120
Graves near Caney.

No. 241. At a point southward of Caney and to the northeast of the grave of Sergeant Kirby (No. 218) and a little distance easterly of the road to Santiago is the grave of Lieutenant Nicolas Franca, an officer of the Cuban contingent assigned to Gen. Lawton for duty as scouts and guides. It is near a point where several trails meet, and is marked by a slight mound, scarcely more than a little patch of yellow earth. This officer was killed at the battle of Caney while serving with the American army. The grave was entirely hidden by a little copse of shrubbery, and the guide who showed it had to push the bushes aside to give us a glimpse of his compatriot's grave (see Chap. X).

No. 242. This number marks the grave of Raphael Quintana, of Caney. It is in the middle of the road leading to

the American cemetery and is near it (Fig. 121). This unfortunate man was shot by order of Gen. Vara del Rey in the act of escaping to join the American army. He was taken by a squad of Spanish officers to the spot above indicated, was shot to death, and left lying where he fell in the road. When the American soldiers advanced to this point, they found the remains, which were much decomposed, and gave them decent burial. (See further in Chapter X.)

All accounts agree that the company of Cubans assigned to duty with the Second Division did good service; and there is equal unanimity in the statements that those who accompanied the columns attacking San Juan were demoralized by the losses from artillery shells at El Pozo and were of no value in action.

Fig. 121

Grave of Raphael Quintana, near Caney.

An incidental proof of the service wrought by the Caney contingent is furnished by Mr. Henry H. Lewis. On Sunday, while on a visit to Caney, he happened into the old stone church on the plaza which had served the Spaniards as a fort on the 1st of July. The weather-stained building bore many marks of conflict; but native hands had patched up the doors, and there was evidence of new tiling here and there in the roof. He noticed several women in black who were leading little children, disappear inside the church, and followed just as a bell overhead tolled drearily.

The interior was scantily furnished and not over clean.

FIG. 122

Old Church on the plaza at Caney, used as a fortress. Gen. Vara Del Rey was shot in the plaza.

The altar showed signs of neglect; but there was a priest present and a number of natives, and in the aisle, midway from the door, resting upon a wooden bier, was a coffin. As Mr. Lewis watched, the padre produced a small book and prepared to read. The light was dim, and he stepped over to where a bright shaft of sunlight shot diagonally across the church from a broken-edged hole in the wall close to the ceiling, evidently made by a shot from Capron's battery. Then he resumed his service in a sonorous voice. Presently a Cuban, apparently one of the better class, slipped over to where the foreign visitor stood, and asked respectfully:

"You are an American, senor?"

On receiving assent, he continued, with a jerk of his right thumb toward the coffin: "Jesus Montero, there, was in the great battle, senor! He was a scout with your General Chaffee, and he was wounded by a Mauser bullet from the block house on the hill. He died last night!"*

* Henry Harrison Lewis: *Munsey' Magazine*, March 1899, p. 860.

Chapter VIII

At Las Guasimas

WHERE is the grave of Sir Arthur O'Kellyn?
Where may the grave of that good man be?—
By the side of a spring, on the breast of Helvellyn,
Under the twigs of a young birch tree!
The oak that in summer was sweet to hear,
And rustled its leaves in the fall of the year,
And whistled and roar'd in the winter alone,
Is gone,—and the birch in its stead is grown,—
The knight's bones are dust,
And his good sword rust;—
His soul is with the saints, I trust.

SAMUEL TAIFOR COLERIDGE.

"Make way for Liberty!" he cried.
Make way for Liberty, and died.

JAMES MONTGOMERY.

The Field of Las Guasimas

THE battle of Las Guasimas was fought by the Second Brigade of Maj.-Gen. Wheeler's division of dismounted cavalry on the day following its landing at Daiquiri. The expedition conveying the Fifth Army Corps arrived in Santiago on the 20th of June, 1898, about noon. After a conference between Gen. Shafter, Admiral Sampson and the Cuban General Garcia, a plan for landing was agreed upon. At some point west of Santiago a feint was to be made to divert and confuse the attention of the Spaniards, while the navy should begin on the morning of June 22d the strategic bombardment of Daiquiri, Aguadores, Siboney and Cabanas. In the meantime the expedition was to land at Daiquiri. This plan was substantially carried out.

The Fifth Army Corps embraced two divisions of Infantry commanded by Generals J. Ford Kent and H. W. Lawton and a division of dismounted cavalry acting as infantry commanded by Gen. Joseph Wheeler. There was also a battalion of light artillery consisting of batteries E and K of the First United States Artillery, and batteries A and F of the Second Artillery. There was a train of siege artillery composed of batteries G and H which, however, was not landed. The troops began to disembark on June 22d, and by the afternoon of the 23d the work was completed through the active co-operation of the navy. The landing was practically unopposed by the Span-

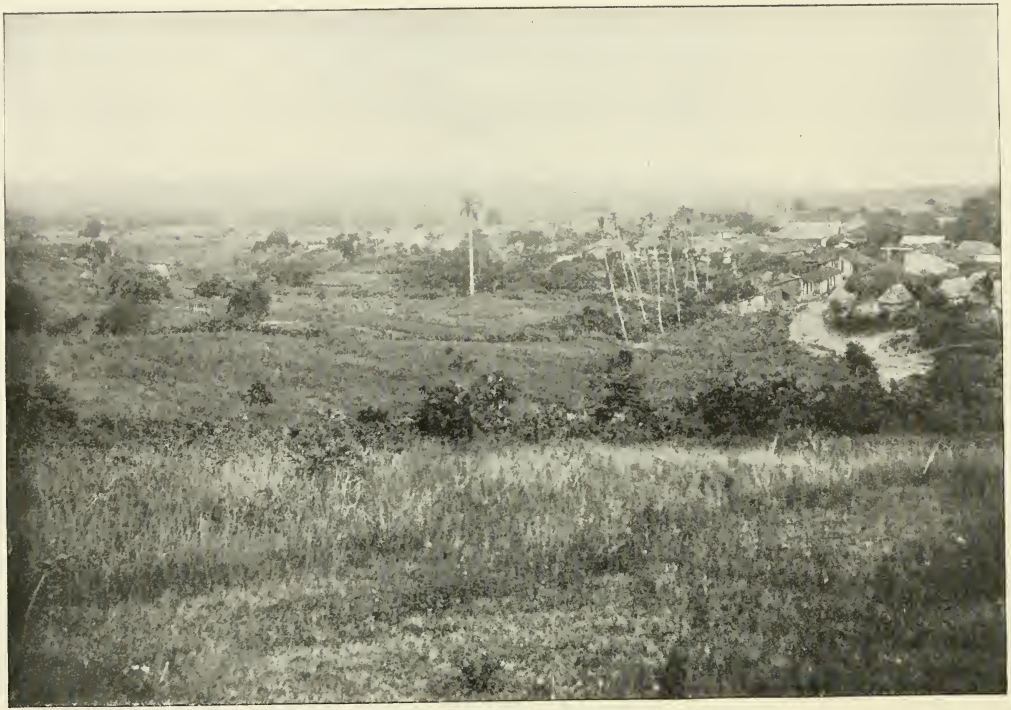


FIG. 127

Caney from Alto Coronal, looking toward Santiago. (*See Chap. VII.*)

iards, a result due to the effect of the naval bombardment, to their uncertainty as to the American plans, and, perhaps, in part also to the demonstration of the Cuban contingent under Gen. Castillo.

Gen. Lawton's division was the first to disembark, and he was followed by the cavalry division. Lawton immediately pushed his men westward and surprised the Spanish shore-guard at sunrise, and his troops had the satisfaction of eating the breakfast which the enemy had abandoned in hot haste. Part of Gen. Young's brigade left the ships on the evening of the 22d, and the remainder got ashore on the morning of the 23d. On the afternoon of the same day the brigade moved westward in order to find good camping ground and water; and after a march of seven or eight miles, over a hilly trail of jungle matted with wild vines, at nightfall reached Siboney, where Gen. Wheeler had his headquarters. As the desirable camping ground in the neighborhood of Siboney was occupied by other troops, Gen. Young requested permission to advance in the morning and dislodge a force of Spaniards said to be in the neighborhood occupying good elevated ground, and secure their position for camping purposes.*

Gen. Wheeler states that he rode rapidly to the front to make personal survey of the field, and found the enemy in a strong position some three miles beyond Siboney. Gen. Castillo's Cubans had already engaged the enemy on the 23d, having been sent to reconnoiter.† The fighting thus begun was by a battalion of one hundred and twenty scouts under Lieut.-Col. Aguierre about two miles northwest of Siboney, and was continued until the Spaniards fell back to their entrenchments.

* Report of the President's War Investigating Commission.

† "Wheeler's Santiago Campaign," pp. 16, 241.

Gen. Wheeler saw seven injured Cubans, one wounded severely, others slightly, and he reports that two were killed.*

It was the popular belief in the United States immediately after the engagement at Las Guasimas, that our troops had been ambuscaded. But the official report shows that the plan of battle was carefully considered and arranged by Gen. Wheeler in conference with Gen. Young and Col. Wood. His own account of the the plan of action † is that Col. Wood, with the First Volunteer Cavalry, was to march by a left-hand or westerly road, while the Hotchkiss guns and the two squadrons of the First and Tenth Cavalry were to march on what is called the main Santiago Road. The dynamite gun, which was momentarily expected, was to join the expedition, and Gen. Castillo was also to march with the command accompanied by two hundred Cubans. Neither the Cubans nor the dynamite gun arrived upon the field in time to take part in the fighting.

The reconnoitering expedition on the day preceding had indicated that the enemy was in a strongly intrenched position on elevated ground, and drawn up in line of battle commanding both roads of approach from Siboney towards Santiago. Gen. Young's brigade was composed of the First and Tenth United States Cavalry, and the regiment of Rough Riders under Col. Leonard Wood, in all nine hundred and twenty-four men, of whom more than half belonged to the Rough Riders. According to the plan agreed upon Col. Wood, with eight troops of his regiment, was to take the left of the attacking line, while the two regular regiments, with four troops each, took the right.

A road, or so-called road, and a rough mountain trail led

* "Wheeler's Santiago Campaign," p. 241. † *Ib.*, p. 16.

from the landing-place at Siboney over the coast hills to a gap in their western wall, whence they descend into the valley of the San Juan in front of Santiago (Map, Fig. 124). The right hand track ascends through a little notch in the hills to a small upland valley which is densely covered with tropical trees and shrubs. Everywhere above the bushy foliage tower the plumed heads of the royal palms,* and the landscape was brilliant with flamboyant trees† at that season of the year glowing with scarlet blossoms. This valley road unites with the left-hand trail about a

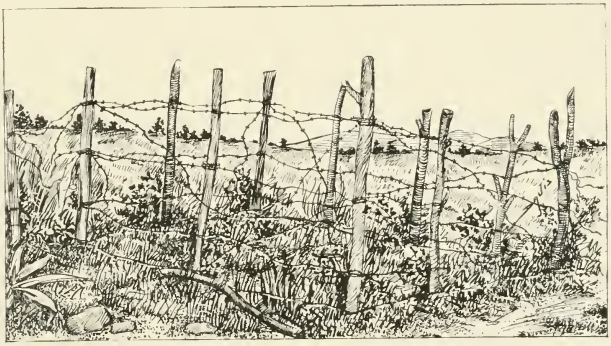


Fig. 123

A Spanish wire entanglement

mile before reaching Sevilla, and the two tracks are at no point more than a mile and a half apart. Near the junction of the roads the entire valley is overlooked by the high hills which shoot out as spurs from the Sierra Maestra Mountains. The centre of these hills is a precipitous ridge, which projects from the range like a huge nose; or in more military phrase is in the form of an obtuse angle with the salient towards Siboney.

* Oreodoxia regia. † Probably Cæsalpinia pulcherrima.

On the military crest, and among the rocks of this ridge, and on the flanking hills the Spaniards had made their entrenchments, and had constructed rifle pits and stone barricades. Two guns were mounted upon the ramparts, which commanded both approaches to Santiago from the sea, and the rifle pits were occupied by Spanish regulars armed with Mauser rifles and smokeless powder. The breastworks were flanked by blockhouses, the approaches obstructed by wire fences and entanglements, and an advance party of Spaniards was thrown out in front of the entrenchments and in the thick brush at the head of the valley, their extreme right resting upon an abandoned aguardiente distillery converted into a blockhouse.

The column of United States Regulars under the immediate command of Gen. Young marched at 5.45 a. m., taking the valley road to the right. At 7.30 a. m. the troops were massed in an open glade, and Capt. Mills, of Gen. Wheeler's staff, with a patrol of two men advanced and discovered the enemy located as the Cuban scouts had determined, at a point known as Las Guasimas, probably the site of a plantation called from a common Cuban tree, the guasima, that abounds in the immediate vicinity. The Hotchkiss battery of mountain guns, which accompanied the right column, was placed in position in concealment about nine hundred yards from the enemy, and Bell's squadron of white regulars were deployed with Norvell's squadron of colored troops in support. On discovering the enemy, Gen. Young * sent a Cuban guide to warn Col. Wood, and knowing that his column had a more difficult route and would require a longer time to reach the position, he delayed the attack in order that both flanks might go into action simultaneously. At this time Gen. Wheeler arrived, and having

* Official report to Maj.-Gen. Wheeler.

approved Young's disposition of the troops left to him the conduct of the affair.

About eight o'clock the attack was ordered, the fight beginning with the one-pound Hotchkiss guns. The Spaniards responded at once, firing here, as they did at San Juan, by volleys executed in almost perfect time, as if given on parade. The ground over which the column advanced was a thick jungle of tropical growth planted with wire fences, unseen until encountered. Immediately in front of Gen. Young's left rose the entrenched precipitous heights of the ridge. Headway was so difficult that advance and support became merged and moved forward under a continuous volley-firing, supplemented by that of two rapid-firing guns.*

We turn now to the left wing. The Rough Riders left the seacoast at 5.40 a. m. and began to climb the steep hill which overlooks Siboney, up which leads the mountain trail to Santiago. Many of the men, footsore and weary from their march of the preceding day, most of them being more at home a-horseback than afoot, found the pass up the hill very hard to travel. Some dropped their blanket-rolls, and some fell out of line, with the result that the regiment went into action with less than five hundred men.† It seemed necessary thus to force the march in order that Col. Wood might get his command into action simultaneously with the Regulars. As it was, the latter struck the enemy before the Rough Riders had got into position. On reaching the top of the table land or mesa, an advance guard was thrown out and every precaution taken against surprise, as it was known that the enemy was just ahead in force. The character of the country is such that reconnoitering was

* Official report of Gen. S. B. M. Young.

† Col. Roosevelt, "The Rough Riders," *Scribner's Magazine*, March, 1899.

difficult, as the dense growth of underbrush renders rapid movement of flanking parties well-nigh impossible.

The table land is diversified with glades or rounded hills, which give good vantage ground for distant views. Col. Roosevelt notes the beauty of the tropical forests, and speaks of the bird notes that filled the trees, the cooing of doves,* and the call of the great brush cuckoo.† The latter notes, however, as the Americans approached the Spanish lines, ceased to come from the birds whistling in the trees, and proceeded from the lips of Spanish guerillas, who imitated bird calls with great success and had arranged a series of signals therefrom.

At 7.10 a. m. the videttes discovered signs of the enemy. The command was halted and the troops deployed to the right and left in open skirmish order, and were directed to advance carefully. Almost immediately the firing began, and its extent on both flanks indicated heavy opposing force. Two additional troops were deployed on the right and left, leaving three troops in reserve. It soon appeared that the Spanish lines were overlapping the Americans on both flanks, and two of the reserve troops were deployed, one on the right and one on the left, thus equalizing the length of the opposing lines. The firing had now become heavy, much of it at short range, and it was at this time that Captain Capron and Sergeant Hamilton Fish, who were in advance, were killed. A small blockhouse on the left was captured and the enemy driven from position.

Meantime the Spaniards had taken a new position about one thousand yards in length, and not more than three hundred yards in front of the Rough Riders. Their firing was severe, and here many officers and men were wounded. But the advance was continued in good order, and the Spanish line was

* Zenaida zenaida. † Saurothera merlini.

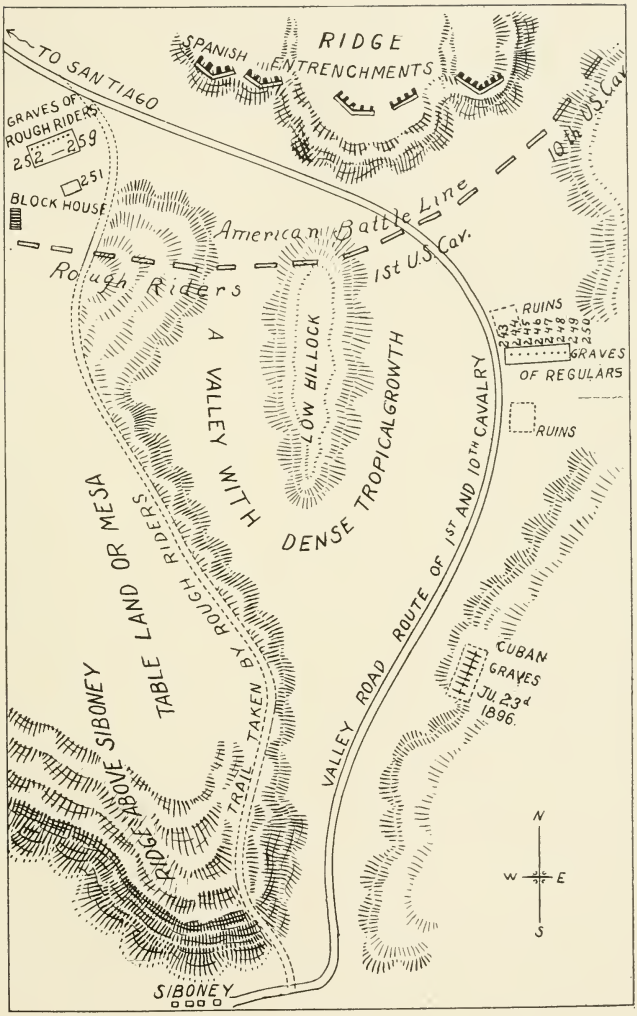


FIG. 124.

Sketch Map showing field of battle of Las Guasimas and location of graves of the fallen.

steadily forced back. A heavy fire from the ridge on the right enfiladed the American line. The Spaniards were in small rock forts along the entire length of the ridge, and were supported by two guns. Col. Wood having cleared his right flank paid some attention to the enemy on the ridge, upon which he centred the fire of two troops. This, in connection with the assault made by the regular cavalry, compelled the evacuation of this end of the works, which the Spaniards soon abandoned along the entire length of the ridge and the flanking hills. Masses of the enemy were seen to retreat rapidly, carrying litters of wounded men. At this time Col. Wood moved out his detached troops to the left to take the right of the Spanish line in flank. This movement was successfully accomplished, and as soon as the troops gained position, the order was given, "Cease firing and advance." The men moved forward within three hundred yards of the enemy and opened a heavy fire under which the Spaniards broke and retreated rapidly. Col. Wood advanced to their abandoned position and halted, and established connection on his right with the regular troops who had successfully carried the ridge before them. Thus, the Americans were in complete possession of the entire Spanish position while the Spaniards were in full retreat toward Santiago.

General Wheeler's official report of the losses is as follows: First United States Volunteer Infantry, five hundred strong, eight killed, thirty-four wounded, a loss of 8.4 per cent. First Regular Cavalry, two hundred and forty-four strong, seven killed, eight wounded, a loss of 6.1 per cent. Tenth Regular Cavalry, two hundred strong, one killed, ten wounded; a loss of 5.5 per cent. It thus appears that in proportion to the number engaged the loss in killed of the First Regular Cavalry (white) was nearly twice as great as that of the Rough Riders

and more than seven times as great as that of the Tenth Cavalry. The proportion of wounded among the Rough Riders was greater than in the other two regiments engaged. The loss in killed of the squadron of the Tenth Regiment was much less than in the others; but the proportion of wounded was greater than that of the First Cavalry.

There is some difficulty in ascertaining correctly the number of Spanish troops engaged in the battle of Las Guasimas and also the loss sustained. Lieutenant Jose Müller y Tejerio* gives the following account: "On the 22d of June Daiquiri and Siboney were bombarded by the American ships. At the same time the soldiers of the enemy appeared at the former place. As the force guarding it could not cope with the ships, it retreated to Firmeza, a well-fortified position lying somewhat to the northeast of Siboney. There General Rubin received orders to proceed with his column and with the whole force in the mineral region to the heights of Sevilla before daybreak, where they were to take positions in three echelons, the foremost one, under Commander Alcaniz, formed of the three companies of Puerto Rico and one mobilized company. On the 23d this echelon alone checked the enemy's advance in the morning and again in the evening, the echelon having been re-enforced by one company from San Fernando, half engineers, and two guns. When the battle was over the forces withdrew to their former positions, the echelon remaining on the same site." This account, of course, refers to the skirmishing with the Cuban contingent on the day preceding the battle in which five companies are said to have been engaged, or between five and six hundred men.

At daybreak on the 24th (Lieut. Müller continues) the

* "Battles and Capitulations of Santiago de Cuba," p. 77.

echelon was re-enforced by two companies from Talavero, and not only resisted a strong attack of the enemy, but also forced the latter to retreat. These two additional companies would make the Spanish force about eight hundred. In spite of their advantage, the "victors" received orders to withdraw, being moved thereto by the alleged fact that the Americans were approaching Castle Morro by rail, thus involving danger of being taken on both flanks and surrounded. The Spanish official report of the fight declares that the Americans were repulsed, losing many men, and that the loss on the Spanish side was only seven dead, with two officers and two privates seriously and one officer and two privates slightly wounded.

Gen. Wheeler* reports a conversation with Gen. Toral on the battle of June 24th at Las Guasimas. The Spanish commander said that less than two thousand of the Spanish troops were engaged, explaining, "You thought we had more men because our line was so long." Toral also said that up to the evening of June 24th, the entire Spanish loss was two hundred and sixty-five men, about two hundred and fifty being the casualties at Las Guasimas. It was perhaps on the ground of this statement that Gen. Wheeler, in his farewell address to the Cavalry Division issued at Camp Wikoff,† includes among the achievements of his gallant troops that they marched on foot fourteen miles, and early in the morning of June 24th attacked and defeated double their number of regular Spanish soldiers under Lieut.-Gen. Linares. It was reported by the Cuban scouts that the Spanish Commander-in-chief was present at the Guasimas engagement; but this is in doubt. At all events it is manifest that at the least estimate, the Spaniards had a force equal to and probably double that of the Americans, well entrenched in a

* "The Santiago Campaign," p. 134. † *Ibid.*, p. 226.

commanding position, and provided with artillery and Mauser rifles. Under ordinary circumstances this should have made it impossible for Gen. Young's brigade to drive them from their vantage ground. Had this point, commanding the pass to Santiago, been defended as stubbornly as Caney, the consequences to the American army would have been very serious.

Perhaps we may accept Gen. Toral's statements of the Spanish losses as 250 in all killed and wounded; although commanding officers, as the writer happens to know, are not likely to carry such details in their memories with accuracy. The American burial parties speak of having found at least forty or fifty Spanish dead upon the field. This is a matter of small consequence, however, the important point being that the commanding position was won and the enemy compelled to retreat. Undoubtedly, the success at Las Guasimas did much to raise the spirits of the American soldiers, and strengthen their confidence in their ability successfully to dislodge the Spaniards from the entrenchments around Santiago. In a corresponding degree, as afterward appeared, the Spanish troops were disheartened by their first experience of American methods and American valor. Of most value was the fact that the enemy was dislodged from a strong position which absolutely commanded the American approach to Santiago, before he had time to make it impregnable, as he may well have intended to do. In falling back to the less defensible position on the San Juan Hills he probably made the American victory easier and less costly. However, this is not the opinion held by many of the officers of the Fifth Corps, particularly just after the battle.

There has been much army gossip, if one may use the phrase, over the action at Las Guasimas, and opinions have

reached through a wide range of divergence as to the merits of the affair from a technical standpoint. No difference could obtain as to the courage and devotion to duty shown by the rank and file on the battle line. The story goes that Gen. Lawton was highly indignant that inasmuch as the front of the line had been assigned to him on the advance into the enemy's country, Gen. Wheeler should have pushed ahead and, so to speak, "jumped his claim." It was currently believed and declared that he had strongly expressed to the venerable chief of the Cavalry Division the opinion that all the men lost in the fight were slain in disobedience of orders, were needlessly and wrongfully sacrificed, and their killing was little better than military murder. Whether this be true or not, certainly there was a decided feeling for a while, especially in official circles, that the fight was premature; that it seriously disarranged Gen. Shafter's plans for the investment of Santiago, and did more harm than good. It is certain that Gen. Shafter on June 25th, the day following the battle, expressed to Gen. Wheeler his pleasure over the result of the Las Guasimas engagement, but directed him "not to try any forward movements until further orders."*

On the morning of June 30th Gen. Shafter called a conference of the division commanders in order to communicate to them his plans. Many believed that there was a close connection between the action of Gen. Wheeler in the Las Guasimas affair, and the fact that at this conference Gen. Sumner, a brigade commander, was called instead of the cavalry chief himself, who was not informed of the conference. The reason assigned at the time and given by Lieut.-Col. Miley is that Gen. Wheeler was sick in his tent with fever, and his surgeon had advised against informing him of the proposed battle the next day.†

* Miley "In Cuba with Shafter," p. 89. † Miley, *Ibid*, p. 102.

However, Gen. Wheeler's name was not on the sick report, and the next day on hearing the noise of the engagement at San Juan, he mounted, pushed to the front, and before one o'clock in the afternoon, Lieut.-Col. Miley says, assumed command of his division, which Sumner had fought with distinguished success. There seems to be a discrepancy between Col. Miley's statement and Gen. Wheeler's account of his part in the morning's movements. * It would seem from the latter that Wheeler was in command much sooner than one o'clock in the afternoon.

Some have found a further indication of the prevaling feeling against the hasty advance of the cavalrymen at Guasimas, in the fact that the dynamite gun which Gen. Wheeler ordered up and which he had confidently expected, and whose non-arrival greatly disappointed him† was held back by an officer of Gen. Lawton's staff, presumably in order to prevent the cavalry division from bringing on a premature engagement. Still further, it is held as indicative of the current feeling that after the battle Gen. Young was reported to have said to Gen. Wheeler: "If I had lost this battle and lived through it, you would have had my resignation." It seems a forced interpretation of this remark, supposing it had been made, to infer that Gen. Young quite understood that the chances taken in pushing forward his brigade and engaging the enemy on June 24th, were of such a character that they could only be justified by an unquestioned success.

Many incidents have been told to illustrate the character and conduct of our troops on this occasion, and other incidents, even more interesting and characteristic, could be told if one

* "My staff officers devoted themselves to the cavalry division which in forming that morning had been temporarily under the control of Gen. S. S. Sumner."—Wheeler "Santiago Campaign," p. 43. † *Ibid*, p. 17.

could find the persons who know them. Some have drifted into the public prints, and appeared in magazines and books, a few of which I venture to condense or to quote, not because they exhibit the highest standard of valor and endurance, but because they have become known to me, and really are typical of the general behavior of the American soldier, not only in the fight at Las Guasimas but in all the engagements of the Spanish-American War.

"Give me your gun a minute!" said Capt. Capron just after Sergeant Fish had received his death wound. His troop seemed to be fighting against terrible odds, and he evidently wished to support the men by an example of unfliniching courage on his own part. Sergeant Bell handed his commander his own piece and Capt. Capron, kneeling down, deliberately aimed and fired two shots in quick succession. At each discharge a Spaniard was seen to fall. Sergeant Bell, in the meantime, picked up a rifle which a dead comrade had dropped, and kneeling beside his Captain joined in the firing. In a few moments Capt. Capron fell mortally wounded. He gave Bell a parting message to his wife and one to his father. "Good-bye," he said, as cheerfully as though he were bidding him "good-night," and was borne away dying. They buried him at Siboney by the sea* (Fig. 125, p. 20).

Mr. Richard Harding Davis who was present as a war correspondent, but took a gallant part in the fighting, describes the death of Capt. Capron in the arms of one of the brave surgeons of the regiment.† On the narrow trail over which the Rough Riders had advanced he saw Capt. Capron with his body propped against Surgeon Church's knee, and with his head

* Charles Morris, "The War with Spain."

† "The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaign," p. 155.

fallen on his shoulder. Capron was always a handsome, soldierly-looking man; some said that he was the most soldierly looking of any of the young officers in the army, and death had given him a great dignity and nobleness. He was only twenty-eight years old, the age when life has but well begun, yet he rested his head on the surgeon's shoulder like a man who knew he was already through with it, and that, though they might peck and mend at his body, he had received his final orders. His breast and shoulders were bare, and as the surgeon cut the tunic from him the sight of his great chest, and the skin as white as a girl's, and the black open wound against it, made the yellow stripes and the brass insignia of rank seem strangely mean and tawdry.

Fifty yards farther on, around a turn in the trail, behind a rock, a boy was lying with a bullet wound between his eyes. His chest was heaving with short, hoarse noises due to some muscular action, for he was entirely dead. Mr. Davis lifted him and gave him some water, but it would not pass through his fixed teeth. In the pocket of his blouse was a New Testament with the name "Fielder Dawson, Mo.",* scribbled in it in pencil. While the correspondent was writing it down for identification, a boy as young as the dead approached from the trail.

"It is no use," he said; "the surgeon has seen him. He says he is just the same as dead. He is my bunkie. We only met two weeks ago at San Antonio; but he and me got to be such good friends. But there's nothing I can do now!" He threw himself down on the rock beside his "bunkie," who was still breathing with that hoarse rattle, and Mr. Davis left them, the one who had been spared looking down helplessly with the tears creeping across his cheeks.

* Tilden W. Dawson is the name on the official list.

Col. Roosevelt* speaks of the manner of Sergt. Russell's death. Being out of touch with one of the wings of the battalion which he was commanding, he sent Sergt. Russell, a New Yorker, with Troopers Greenway and Rowland, into the valley to discover the locality of the wing. In obeying the command the three men were exposed to a severe fire, and Russell was killed. He was a Sergeant in G Troop, but had been a Colonel on the Staff of the Governor of his State.

The other two men returned and reported the position of the missing troops and resumed their places on the firing line. After a while Col. Roosevelt noticed blood oozing from the side of one of them named Rowland, and discovered that he had been shot, although seeming to take no notice of the fact. The wound was only a slight one ! he said. But as a rib had been broken, he was ordered to the hospital in the rear. After some grumbling he went, but fifteen minutes later was back on the firing line, saying he could not find the hospital. Among the wounded who afterward walked to the temporary hospital at Siboney was this trooper Rowland. There the doctors examined him, and decreed that his wound was so serious that he must go back to the States. After nightfall Rowland escaped through the hospital windows and made his way back to camp with his rifle and pack, although every movement must have caused him great pain. After such an exhibition of grit, his officers concluded that he was entitled to stay with "the boys." He never left them for a day, and again distinguished himself in the fight at San Juan.

Harry Heffner, of G Troop, was mortally wounded through the hips, and fell without uttering a sound. Two of his companions dragged him behind a tree, where he propped

* "The Rough Riders," *Scribner's*, March, 1899.

himself up and asked to be given his canteen and his rifle, which Col. Roosevelt handed to him. He then again began to shoot, and continued loading and firing until the line moved forward and left him alone, dying in the gloomy shade. When his comrades found him, after the fight, he was dead.

The death of Sergeant Hamilton Fish, which was so widely and keenly regretted by his countrymen, as one of the saddest incidents of the war is touchingly referred to by Mr. Richard Harding Davis. He was well in advance of the farthest point to which Capron's troop had moved before it had deployed to the left. He was running forward feeling confident that he must be close upon our men when he saw, far in advance, the body of a sergeant blocking the trail and stretched at full length across it. Its position was a hundred yards in advance of that of any others; it was apparently the body of the first man killed. After death the bodies of some men seem to shrink almost instantly within themselves; they become limp and shapeless, and their uniforms hang upon them strangely. But this man, who was a giant in life, remained a giant in death. His very attitude was one of attack. His fists were clinched, his jaw set, and his eyes, which were still open, seemed fixed with resolve. He was dead, but he was not defeated. "God gives," was the motto on the watch taken from his blouse; and God could not have given him a nobler end; to die, in the forefront of the first fight of the war, quickly, painlessly, with a bullet through the heart, with his regiment behind him and facing the enemies of his country.*

One of the military heroes of the medical staff has been so graphically described in the action at Las Guasimas by Mr. Richard Harding Davis that I venture to quote his language:

* "The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaign," p. 159.

"When G Troop passed on across the trail to the left I stopped at the place where the column had first halted. It had been converted into a dressing station, and the wounded of G Troop were left there in the care of the hospital stewards. A tall young man with a red cross on his arm was just coming back up the trail. His head was bent, and by some surgeon's trick he was advancing rapidly with great strides, and at the same time carrying a wounded man much heavier than himself across his shoulders. As I stepped out of the trail he raised his head and smiled and nodded, and left me wondering where I had seen him before, smiling in the same cheery, confident way and moving in the same position. I knew it could not have been under the same conditions, and yet he was certainly associated with another time of excitement and rush and heat. And then I remembered him! He had been covered with blood and dirt and perspiration as he was now, only then he wore a canvas jacket, and the man he carried on his shoulders was trying to hold him back from a whitewashed line. I recognized the young doctor with the blood bathing his breeches as "Bob" Church, of Princeton. That was only one of four badly wounded men he carried on his shoulders that day over a half-mile of trail that stretched from the firing-line back to the dressing station under an unceasing fire. As the senior surgeon was absent he had chief responsibility that day for all the wounded, and that so few of them died is greatly due to this young man who went down into the firing-line and pulled them from it, and bore them out of danger.*

A touching incident happened after the fight in the improvised open-air hospital where the wounded were lying. They did not groan and they made no complaint, but tried to help

* "The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns," p. 151.

one another. One of them began to hum "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," and one by one the others joined in the chorus, which swelled out in the dark woods where the victors lay in the camp beside their dead.

Col. Roosevelt pays a high tribute to the courage of Richard Harding Davis, the son of L. Clarke Davis, editor of the *Philadelphia Ledger*. It was he who gave the Rough Riders the first opportunity to shoot back with effect. He behaved precisely like the officers, being on the extreme front of the line and taking every opportunity to study with glasses the ground where the Spaniards were supposed to be. Roosevelt had tried volley firing as a feeler for the Spanish position without success, and was studying the jungle-covered mountain with his glasses, when Davis suddenly exclaimed:

"There they are, Colonel! Look over there. I can see their hats near that glade." He pointed across the valley to the regiment's right.

Roosevelt gave a squad of his sharpshooters the range of the fire, and in a little while had the satisfaction of seeing the Spaniards spring out of cover and run to another concealment. Soon the entire line began quick firing, evidently with good effect, for the Spaniards retreated to the left into the jungle.

Along with the above we may mention the heroism of Edward Marshall, a correspondent of the *New York Journal*, which commanded the nation's attention at the time. He was shot through the spine, a painful wound, which was supposed to be fatal. He made no complaint, and during his periods of consciousness, dictated the story of the fight. The annals of letters furnish few incidents of fidelity to duty more striking than this, and the country was glad to learn that this

gallant writer was not left to sleep beneath the royal palms of Cuba, but sufficiently recovered from his wound to return home.

Mr. John Fox, who served as a war correspondent during the war, sent home a graphic story of the scenes following the fight and the burial of the dead. He climbed the bank of a little creek and stopped, with a start, in the road on the other side. To the right on a sloping bank lay eight gray shapes muffled from head to foot. He thought of the men he had seen asleep on the deck of the transport at dawn. Only, these were rigid, and he would have known that all of them were in their last sleep but one, who lay with his left knee bent and upright, his left elbow thrust from the blanket, and his hand on his heart. He slept like a child.

Beyond was the camp of the regulars who had taken part in the fight. On one side stood Gen. Young, who himself had aimed a Hotchkiss gun, during the action, covered with grime and sweat, and with the passion of battle not quite gone from his eyes. Across the road soldiers were digging one long grave. Half a mile further, on the top of the fortified ridge and on a grassy, sunlit knoll was the camp of the Riders, just beyond the rifle pits from which they had driven the Spaniards. Under a tree, to the right, lay another row of muffled shapes. A quarter of a mile away was the hospital toward which the writer walked with Col. Wood. The path, narrow, thickly shaded, and dappled with sunshine, ran along the ridge through the battlefield, and was pretty, peaceful and romantic. Here and there the tall grass at the wayside was pressed flat where a wounded man had lain. In one place the grass was matted and dark red; nearby was a blood-stained hat marked with the initials "E. L.," probably belonging to Edward Leggett, of Troop A. Here was the spot where Hamilton Fish fell, the

first victim of the fight; there brave young Capron was killed. A passing soldier bared his left arm and showed three places between his wrist and elbow where the skin had been blistered by three separate bullets as he lay in front of Capron after the

FIG. 126

The grave of Rough Riders at Las Guasimas.

From *Scribner's Magazine*, Copyright, 1899, Chas. Scribner's Sons.

latter fell. Farther on lay a dead Spaniard with covered face. A buzzard flapped from the tree above him. Beyond was the open-air hospital, where were two more rigid human figures, and where the wounded lay.

That night there was a clear sky, a quarter-moon and an enveloping mist of stars, but little sleep for any, and but restless, battle-haunted sleep for all. Next morning followed the burial. Capt. Capron was carried back to the coast and buried at Siboney. The other fallen heroes were placed side by side in one broad trench with their feet to the east. In the bottom of the grave was laid a layer of long, thick, green leaves of guinea grass, and over the brave fellows were piled plumes of the royal palm as long as the grave. At the head of the trench stood Chaplain Brown; around it were the comrades of the dead; along the road straggled a band of patient, ragged Cubans; and approaching from Santiago a band of starving women and children for whom the soldiers gave their lives. "Nearer, my God, to Thee," sang the soldiers.* And the tragedy of Las Guasimas was done.

Col. Roosevelt's account of the obsequies is brief but very touching: "Next morning we buried seven dead Rough Riders in a grave on the summit of the trail, Chaplain Brown reading the solemn burial service of the Episcopalians, while the men stood around with bared heads and joined in singing "Rock of Ages." Vast numbers of vultures were wheeling round and round in great circles through the blue sky overhead. There could be no more honorable burial than that of these men in a common grave—Indian and cowboy, miner, packer and college athlete—the man of unknown ancestry from the lonely Western plains, and the man who carried on his watch the crests of the

* *Harper's Weekly*, July 30, 1898.

Hamiltons and the Fishes, one in the way they had met death, just as during life they had been one in their daring and their loyalty."*

List of Killed at Las Guasimas.

Gen. Wheeler, in his "Santiago Campaign," reports in full the names of those who were killed in the engagement of June 24, 1898, at Guasimas. Several errors appear in this report, which are corrected in the following list. The name of Corporal Alexander Slemere should be Corporal Alexander Llennoc. The name of Private William T. Irvine should be William J. Erwin. Sergeant Marvin Russell, should be Marcus D. Russell. Private Stark, on Gen. Wheeler's list, is Stork on the official list.

No. 243. Private Jesse K. Stork, Troop A, 1st United States Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 244. Private Otto Krupp, Troop B, 1st United States Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898. I am not positive as to the order of the numbers of Privates Stork and Krupp, Nos. 243 and 244 belong to these two men, but the proper assignment thereof on the mound I am not able to determine, and have given the order as I believe it to be.

No. 245. Corporal William L. White, Troop E, 10th United States Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 246. Private Gustav A. Kolbe, Troop K, 1st United States Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 247. Private Peter H. Dix, Troop K, 1st United States Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 248. Private Jack Berlin, Troop K, 1st United States Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

* *Scribner's Magazine*, March, 1899, p. 276.

No. 249. Private Emil Bjork, Troop K, 1st United States Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 250. Corporal Alexander Llennoc, Troop K, 1st United States Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 251. Private Edmond Brunil, Battery F, 2d United States Artillery. He was not in the battle but died July 15th, 1898.

No. 252. Captain Allyn K. Capron, Troop L, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898. Capt. Capron was buried at Siboney and thence removed to the United States.

No. 253. Private Edward Leggett (or Liggett), Troop A, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 254. Corporal George H. Dougherty (or Doherty), Troop A, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 255. Private William J. Erwin, Troop F, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 256. Sergeant Marcus D. Russell, Troop G, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 257. Private Harry Hæffner, Troop G, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 258. Sergeant Hamilton Fish, Jr., Troop L, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

No. 259. Private Tilden W. Dawson, Troop L, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry. Died June 24th, 1898.

Chapter IX

The Fallen Heroes of the Hospital

IN she went at the door, and gazing from end to end,
"Many and low are the pallets, but each is the place of a friend."
Up she pass'd through the wards, and stood at a young man's bed:
Bloody the band on his brow, and livid the droop of his head.
"Art thou a Lombard, my brother? Happy art thou," she cried,
And smiled like Italy on him: he dream'd in her face and died.

* * * * * *

On she pass'd to a Frenchman, his arm carried off by a ball:
Kneeling, * * "O more than my brother! how shall I thank thee for all?
"Each of the heroes around us has fought for his land and line,
But thou hast fought for a stranger, in hate of a wrong not thine.
"Happy are all free peoples, too strong to be dispossess'd:
But blessed are those among nations who dare to be strong for the rest!"

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

The Fallen Heroes of the Hospital

IN military life the duty of caring for the sick and wounded is committed to surgeons, of whom three may be assigned to every regiment. A brigade surgeon has charge of the general hospital service in a brigade; a division surgeon directs like service for a division, and a surgeon-chief, attached to the staff of the commanding general, has oversight of all. A vast amount of clerical work, in the matter of requisitions, reports, etc., is connected with these various departments, all of which is more or less necessary in order to keep an accurate knowledge of supply and demand, and to keep trace of the various parties treated, of the sick, wounded and dead.

In connection with the surgeon's work is an organization known as a hospital corps, of enlisted men trained for their particular duty, who are under the immediate charge of non commissioned officers known as hospital stewards and assistant stewards. Some of these, especially in the regular service, are men of experience and efficiency; but the vast amount of additional work suddenly thrown upon the Medical Department at the outbreak of the Spanish war necessitated the drafting of men without experience in nursing. Some of these brought willing hearts to the work, and became helpful; others were worse than worthless.

On the eve of battle a situation is chosen for a general

hospital, for a division or for a corps, as far back from the firing line as is necessary to protect both the workers and the wounded from injury by passing bullets. The laws of war, respected by all civilized nations, exempt surgeons, chaplains and the hospital corps from designed assault. To insure this protection they are all designated by a red cross badge upon the left arm, and much confusion has resulted in public prints and in popular opinion from the fact that this honored badge is also worn by

Fig. 128

Fig. 129

Fig. 128—A street in General Field Hospital, Fifth Army Corps, Santiago.
Fig. 129—Hospital steward's office.

voluntary red cross societies. Surgeons and hospital corps men are detailed to follow the troops to the firing line, keeping close enough, with first aid dressings and with litters, to carry the wounded from the field to a convenient sheltered spot, where they may receive temporary care. This is an emergency hospital, or dressing station. At San Juan the wounded were taken from the plain to a point on the river near Bloody Bend, and were laid upon the soft soil of the sheltered bank with their

feet close to the water, a comparatively cool place, measurably protected from flying bullets. Temporary dressings and aid having been administered by the surgeons in the field and their helpers, the patients were carried still further back to the Divisional or General Hospital to receive more careful and detailed treatment.

Litter-men and other red-cross men, including surgeons and chaplains, in the above named service, are necessarily exposed to danger, and it is not an uncommon thing for them to fall in the discharge of duty. No blame is attached, under such circumstances, for the death of these non-combatants, as it is impossible for the best intentioned enemy, bent solely upon putting out of action those in the fighting ranks, to prevent missiles discharged at approaching lines from falling among those who have come within firing distance upon their work of helpfulness. Nevertheless, the charge has been frequently made, and with such definiteness of statement as to entitle it to consideration, that sharpshooters stationed in trees in the rear and on the flanks of the American lines did not scruple to pick off surgeons, hospital workers, and even the wounded carried by them. On the other hand, Lieut.-Col. Miley, an aid of Gen. Shafter, who took a gallant and conspicuous part in the San Juan battles, intimates that these persons were struck by spent or flying bullets,* and says that no Spanish sharpshooters were found in trees. One would like to believe this to be the true explanation of facts that seem very suspicious. At least one part of Col. Miley's statement is clearly erroneous, for Col. Roosevelt, in his official report of the San Juan battle, declares that the guerillas in trees, dressed in green uniforms, devoted themselves especially to shooting surgeons, hospital assistants,

* "With Shafter in Cuba," p. 123.

the wounded in litters, and even burial parties. He sent out a detail of sharpshooters to the rear of the command, who killed thirteen. He saw two of these guerillas shot out of trees by his own men.

One can readily conceive that during an engagement hospital workers must be not only brave but busy men. A moment may be a matter of life or death with a wounded man. Our regular soldiers are taught the simplest methods of caring for the wounded, and are provided with "first-aid" dressings. This admirable precaution was the means of saving many lives. Every soldier was thus converted into a hospital worker, and the slightly wounded could minister to their own wants and assist in saving the lives of their comrades. Next to this, as has been stated, the surgeons in the field give the first relief, and send the wounded back to the hospital tent or to the hospital station in the immediate rear of the firing line. This is done as rapidly as possible, chiefly by litter bearers, although any sort of conveyance available is used. To the wounded are attached tags of paper backed with cloth and of various degrees of significance, to explain the urgency of the case. Some of the wounded can walk or hobble or crawl to the stations, but nearly all are carried on stretchers. Some are supported by their comrades, but as a rule this is forbidden, as the fighting men in a battle have but one duty, to move forward in obedience to orders, leaving the kindly work of caring for the hurt and the fallen to those who are especially detailed, equipped and fitted for the service.

A hospital tent is simply a large wall tent and is a small canvas house. A permanent field hospital consists of a number of such tents arranged in regular rows so as to form streets. The central tent or a part thereof is occupied as an office, and

there are set up the shelves or boxes containing necessary drugs, instruments and other medical appliances and conveniences. Tents must also be provided for the hospital stewards and their assistants, and for the men of the hospital corps, as well as storage tents and cooking tents A large hospital assumes the proportions of a canvas village, and with its numerous workers and complicated material involves large responsibility and labor. Under ordinary circumstances there is a vast amount of red tape and requisition work which requires the offices of a good clerk rather than that of a skillful physician. There is no doubt that during the war the efficiency of the medical service was frequently hindered by perfunctory and needless requisitionism.

FIG. 130

Hospital of the Fifth Immunes, on the Bay, Santiago.

It is the duty of the hospital authorities to keep an accurate register of the names, dates of admission, diseases and descriptions of all persons admitted to the wards, and of the name, rank, disease and date of death of every one who dies within the hospital. On the battlefield everything is, of course, of a temporary nature, and the surgeons and men of the hospital corps do the best they can under the trying conditions. But the Government makes such ample provision for service under such emergencies, that the lack of workers, and of medicine and material is the result of almost unpardonable

incompetency or neglect of duty on the part of some one in authority.

When the cots and medical supplies for the Fifth Army Corps arrived on the U. S. S. *Resolute*, July 25th, 1898, a movement was immediately organized by Surgeon Chief Havard to transfer the sick to hospitals in more eligible locations. The principal one of these new organizations was the General Field Hospital. After the calentura exodus of the Fifth Corps, which began shortly thereafter, these hospitals remained to receive the sick who were not able to be moved. From time to time the convalescents were sent home, and the importance of the hospitals gradually diminished. Just previous to my departure on the transport *Seguranca*, September 16th, the last of these was broken up, and all the sick soldiers, not provided for in regimental hospitals, were removed to quarters in the Spanish Military Hospital; which had been left vacant by the repatriation of the Spanish prisoners of war. Thus the scattered remnants of the invalids and of the hospital workers of the gallant Fifth Corps were assembled under the roof and within the walls that had lately sheltered their foes.

FIG. 131

Field Hospital of Fifth U. S. Infantry before occupying the Reina Mercedes Barracks.

The First Division Hospital

It seems proper to begin the records of the Fallen Heroes of our hospitals with that of the First Division Hospital, which

figured so conspicuously in the sad aftermath of the battles of July 1st. It will be remembered with mingled feelings of gratitude and horror by many officers and men of the valiant Fifth Army Corps. It has been the subject of frequent description in the reports of war correspondents and in recently published books. It was under the charge of Major Surgeon Wood, of the Regular Army. He chose a site on the south side of the road from Siboney to San Juan, about midway of the two places, and on the north bank of the Aguadores, a mountain stream which supplied the water necessary for hospital service. It was between three and four hundred yards from Maj.-Gen. Shafter's headquarters, which were on the south side of the road, and was thus directly under the eye of the Commander-in-chief until the day of surrender. To this point most of the wounded at San Juan and Caney were brought in course of time, and thence were transferred to the general hospital established in the neighborhood of Siboney, whence they were placed upon hospital ships or transports, as soon as their condition would permit, and taken to the United States.

While in Santiago I spoke to Major Wood about the absence of markers over so many graves of the dead in the First Division Hospital, and expressed my regret that so little pains had been taken to secure identification. He replied that surgeons and the hospital corps were so overwhelmed with the volume of service so suddenly thrown upon them, so great and unexpected, that it was more than they could accomplish to give adequate care to the wounded, which was the chief duty of the hour. There is no question, either, of the lack of adequate assistance for the wounded, or of the heroic fidelity of the field helpers at hand. Nevertheless, it seemed, and it still seems to me, that one man might have been detailed to the duty of finding

out the names of those who died in the hospital, and of attaching to the body a suitable tag or tablet and placing a simple marker at the head of the dead. Such a precaution would have secured the identity of the remains. Here again we see how needful it is that some system should be adopted in the Medical Department, in conjunction with the Quartermaster's Department, by which this duty shall not be neglected even under the most trying and confused conditions. It is a shocking and most discreditable fact that out of sixty or seventy burials in this field cemetery only eight are so marked as to insure identification, and even several of these are open to doubt. The list here follows:

No. 260. Lieut. Joseph N. Augustine, Jr., 24th United States Infantry. Died July 1, 1898. See Chapter V, p. 122, for further reference to this gallant young officer in connection with his bosom friend, Lieut. Gurney. The grave was much sunken when seen in September, and the grass and weeds had grown high around it, as all the other graves. An iron-framed marker formed the headboard, on which were inscribed the name and regiment.

No. 261. Private Henry J. Scheid, Company F, 71st New York Volunteer Infantry. Died July 3, 1898.

No. 262. Capt. James Fornance, 13th United States Infantry. Died July 1, 1898. Capt. Fornance was in command of F Company, Thirteenth Infantry. He was mortally wounded in the charge upon Fort San Juan, July 1st, and was taken back to the Division Hospital, where he died in thirty-six hours. The Rev. P. J. Hart, Post Chaplain of the United States Army, with the Third Infantry, in the field during the battle, wrote me that Capt. Fornance was buried on July 3d, about 2 p. m., with nine other soldiers in one trench. A board, with

the Captain's name inscribed thereon, was placed in the common mound directly over where he lay, at the south end thereof.

On Sunday, July 4th, there were twenty-four persons buried in another trench, among them Acting Assistant Surgeon Harry W. Danforth, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, attached to the Ninth Cavalry, and Lieut. Reuben S. Turman. According to Chaplain Hart, there were at least fifty men buried at this spot when he left the Hospital, July 5th, and many others were buried there later on. In September, little more than two months after the battle, the grass and weeds had grown so high on and around the cemetery site that a working squad had to be engaged to hew away the growth with machetes, in order to distinguish the graves at all. Major Harrison subsequently visited the grave of Capt. Fornance and had it rounded up, and renewed the marking, which probably accounts for the

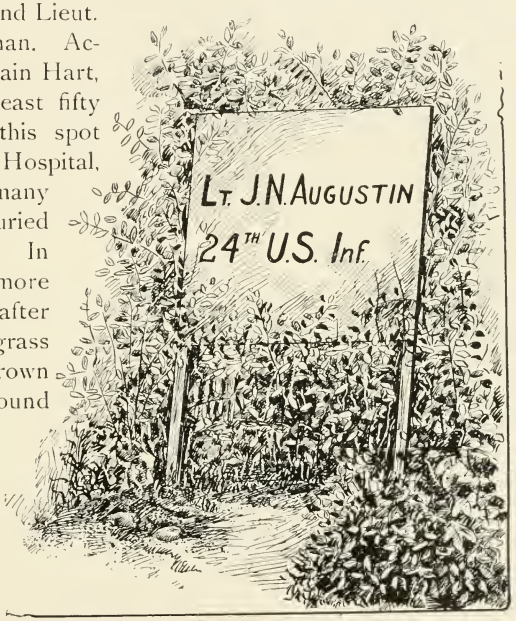


Fig. 132
Grave of Lieut. Jos. N. Augustine.

fact that Mr. Rhodes, when visiting the spot to set up headboards, found the grave as shown in the chart* (Fig. 133), separated from the common trench as though its inmate had been buried apart.

No. 263. Private Daniel McIntosh, Company D, 8th United States Infantry. Died July 2, 1898.

No. 264. Second Lieut. Reuben S. Turman, 6th United States Infantry. Died July 4, 1898. Lieut. Turman received his death wound in the charge across the Battle Plain, July 1st, in which his regiment took such a conspicuous part.

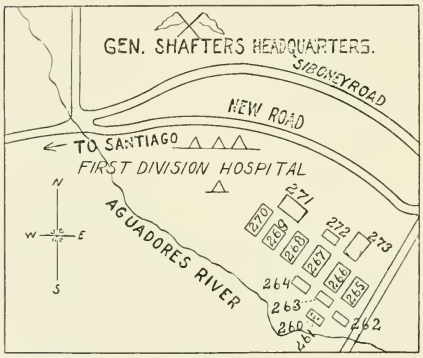


FIG. 133

Cemetery of the First Division Hospital.

No. 265. A large grave, containing many unknown dead.

No. 266. A large grave, containing many unknown dead and the two following soldiers: Corporal Dennis Warfle, Company F, 10th United States Infantry, died July 4th, and Charles F. Swartz, private, Company B, 1st United States Cavalry, died July 9, 1898.

Nos. 267–271. These are all large graves, every one containing many unknown dead.

* Most of the charts of soldiers' burial places in the following chapter are reproduced from the rough plans made by Mr. Rhodes, redrawn in the Quartermaster's Department, and furnished me by the courtesy of Gen. Ludington. The numbers have been conformed to my own series.

No. 272. Private Frederick B. Taft, Company C, 2d Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. Died July 14, 1898.

No. 273. A large grave, containing many unknown dead.

It will thus be seen that most of those buried in the above hospital must be classed among the "unknown." There appear to be sixty or seventy in all. It is possible, though I have no definite evidence of the fact, that some of the Cuban soldiers who were killed in the neighborhood of the American battery on El Pozo Hill are buried in this place, and may be among the unknown dead. But the probability is that most of these are American soldiers who, in the prevailing hurry and confusion, were hastily buried and no mark placed upon their graves.

Second Cemetery of the First Division Hospital

During the latter part of the summer and until our sick were removed to the vacated Spanish Military Hospital, the First Division Hospital, which had been removed from its original location near Gen. Shafter's headquarters, was placed at a site known as Sueño, northeast of Santiago. This hospital, after the exode of the Fifth Corps, was in charge of Major Banister as Surgeon Chief, one of the most gallant and competent of the regular army surgeons. Here, as with the dead from the Second Infantry, he took particular pains to mark the graves carefully. From the hospital tents near the roadside, a path led northward down a gentle declivity to the little oval patch of gray earth amid the tropical greenery. Beyond in the valley towered many royal palms, and still further north the mountains swelled toward the horizon clad in luxuriant verdure. The following is the list of those who sleep in that beautiful spot:

No. 274. John Jenkins, Privt. Co. K, 9th U. S. Cavalry, died Sept. 3d, 1898.

No. 275. Jos. I. Black, Private, Co. K, 71st N. Y. Vol. Inf. Died Sept. 2d, 1898.

No. 276. Frank M. Covert, private, Co. H, 16th U. S. Inf. Died Sept. 2d, 1898.

No. 277. Richard Jones, laborer (colored), Charleston, S. C., Squad 17. The Captain of the Squad was M. J. Christopher, attached to First Division.

No. 278. Sergt. William H. True, Co. C, 9th U. S. Inf. Died Sept. 1st, 1898.

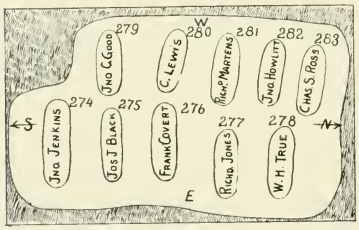


Fig. 134

Plan of Cemetery, 2d U. S. Infantry.

No. 279. Corp. Jno. C. Good, Co. E, 16th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 31st, 1898.

No. 280. Clarence Lewis, Co. F, 2d Reg. Inf. U. S. Died Aug. 30, 1898.

No. 281. Richard Martens, Private, Co. G, 71st N. Y. Vol. Inf. Died Aug. 28, 1898.

No. 282. Corporal John Howitt, Co. C, 71st N. Y. Vol. Inf. Died Aug. 25th, 1898.

No. 283. Private Chas. S. Ross, Co. I, 1st U. S. Cavalry. Died Aug. 18th, 1898.

The cemetery of the Field Hospital of the Second Regiment United States Infantry is situated on the heights between Santiago and the San Juan hills, a little north of the Caney Road. It was pointed out by Brigade Surgeon Major William B. Banister, who had been in special charge of the Second Regiment as attending surgeon during its service in the field, and

in hospital duties immediately thereafter. From the Caney Road, a little beyond the first culvert, a path leads up the hill to this group of graves. They are in a little basin on the slope of the hill, just below the military crest of the height on which is a line of entrenchments occupied by the Rough Riders. The headquarters of Gen. Lawton were just north of this burying ground. The space occupied is forty-five feet long by ten feet wide. The graves are all marked, and are in the order of the

FIG. 135

FIG. 136

Cemetery of Field Hospital, 2d U. S. Infantry.

following numbers proceeding from north to south. The list is given in the form of the inscriptions upon the headboards:

No. 284. "Pvt. John A. Curtin, Co. C., 20th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 15th, 1898." The records show that he died in the First Division Hospital, Aug. 15th, 1898.

No. 285. "Corpl. J. Hayes, Co. C, 2nd Inf. Died Aug. 4th, 1898." Corporal James Hayes.

No. 286. "Pvt. Thos. Detrick, Co. I, 2nd Inf. Died Aug.

4th, 1898, Santiago de Cuba." This name is not upon my official list.

No. 287. "John Chase, Pvt. 2nd Inf. Died July 30th, 1898. Santiago de Cuba." John H. Chase, Co. E, 2d U. S. Infantry.

No. 288. "W. R. Peacock, Pvt. Co. E, 2nd Inf. Died July 22nd, 1898, Santiago de Cuba." Wm. R. Peacock.

No. 289. "G. Lewenhock, Pvt. Co. E, 2nd Inf. Died July 23d, 1898. Santiago de Cuba." Gerrit Leeuwenhock.

No. 290. "David McCafferty, Pvt. Co. E., 2d U. S. Inf. Died July 29th, 1898."

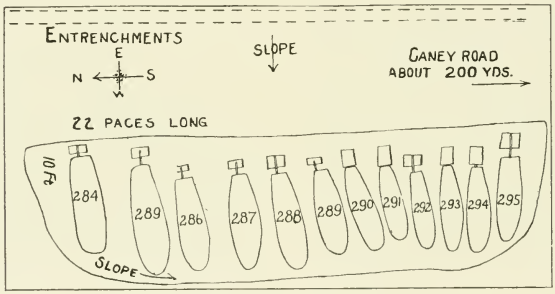


Fig. 137

Chart of Cemetery of Field Hospital, 2d U. S. Infantry.

No. 291. "Pvt. Jno. F. Minnis, Co. A, 2d U. S. Inf. Died July 30th, 1898. Santiago de Cuba." Surgeon Banister informed me that this man died suddenly of heart failure while being supported by a comrade on the way from the sink.

No. 292. "Pvt. Nelson M. Jewell, Died Aug. 1st, 1898. Co. A. 2nd U. S. Inf."

No. 293. "Corp. E. E. Koch, Co. A., 20th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 6th, 1898."

No. 294. "Privt. Chas. H. Blake, Co. C, (or G) 2nd U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 11th, 1898." Private Blake's name I found upon the records of the First Division Hospital as having died Aug. 11th, 1898.

No. 295. "Joe C. (or O.) Egbert, Private, Co. F. 2nd U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 16th, '98. Rest in Peace."

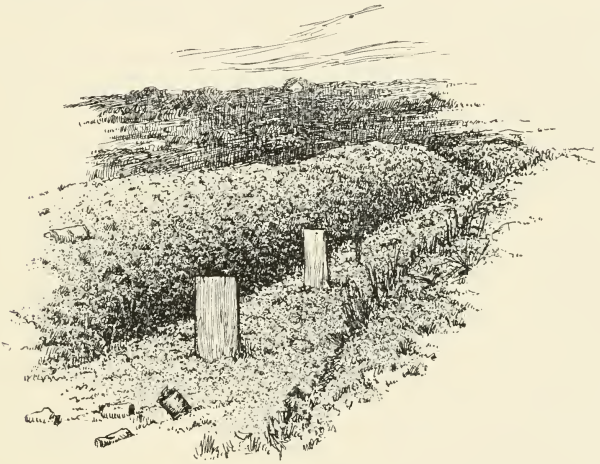


FIG. 138

Graves of Privates Smith and Clausz, 10th U. S. Infantry, in a Spanish trench.

In a trench about 200 yards from the cemetery of the Second Infantry two men of the Tenth Infantry are buried in the same grave. One name is marked upon the headboard and another on the rude pinewood foot board. On either side of the space occupied by the mound is thrown debris of various sorts, tin cans, etc. (Fig. 138.)

No. 296. "E. Smith, Co. F, 10th Inf." Private Ernest

Smith died in the First Division Hospital August 12, 1898, and was buried with Private Clausz on the same day.

No. 297. "W. H. Clausz, Co. A, 10th Inf." According to the records Private Wm. H. Clausz died in the First Division Hospital August 12, 1898.

In a southwesterly direction from the cemetery of the Second Regiment of Infantry is a group of graves composed with one exception of the Thirty-fourth Regiment of Michigan Volunteers. It lies about one hundred yards to the northeast of the Caney Road, and the graves are along the trail issuing from that road and winding toward the northwest among the encampments of the various regiments as they were stationed shortly after the battle and preceding the surrender. The spot marks the vicinity of the Field Hospital of the Thirty-fourth Michigan. The list of deceased is as follows:

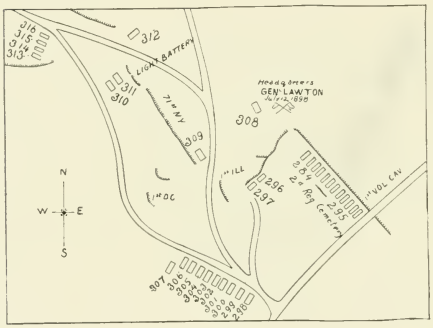


FIG. 139

Chart of soldiers' graves in the field northeast of Santiago. (After plan in the Quartermaster's Department, Washington.)

No. 298. Private George Lind, Co. D, 34th Mich. Vol. Inf. Died August 3, 1898.

No. 299. Private Albert J. Chapman, Co. D, 34th Mich. Vol. Inf. Died August 3, 1898.

No. 300. Private John A. McDonald, Co. D, 34th Mich. Vol. Inf. Died July 31, 1898.

No. 301. Private Francis J. Vivian, Co. D, 34th Mich. Vol. Inf. Died July 31, 1898.

No. 302. Private William J. Dolan, Co. D, 34th Mich. Vol. Inf. Died July 29, 1898.

No. 303. Private Rinaldo K. Shord, Co. H, 34th Mich. Vol. Inf. Died July 29, 1898.

No. 304. Private Charles Clemmens, Co. H, 34th Mich. Vol. Inf. Died July 26, 1898.

No. 305. Sergt. John Oliver, Co. E, 34th Mich. Vol. Inf. Died August 2, 1898.

No. 306. Private Thomas K. Bennet, Co. H, 34th Mich. Vol. Inf. Died August 2, 1898.

No. 307. Private C. Boldi, Co. C, 10th U. S. Infantry. Not on my copy of the official list of deaths.

No. 308. Over the hill about three hundred yards due north from the grave of Privates Clausz and Smith is a single grave on a slope marked: "Jerome F. Gifford, Died Aug. 2, 1898." He was a private and a musician. The Ducareau mansion bears east a little north therefrom.

No. 309. North of the cemetery of the 34th Michigan and to the left of the winding road above referred to is the solitary grave of James M. Haney, private, Co. F, 6th U. S. Inf., who died in the First Division Hospital August 16, (14) 1898. It is near the entrenchment occupied by the 74th New York Infantry near the crest of the ridge.

No. 310. In a northwesterly direction from the grave of Haney are two graves on the crest occupied by the light battery. The first is that of Sergeant William D. S. Young, Co. E, 71st N. Y. Vol. Inf., Died July 29, 1898.

No. 311. Private William E. Chevers, Co. I, 71st N. Y. V Inf., Died Aug. 1st, 1898.

No. 312. Gus. Grahn, Co. L, 71st N. Y. Vol. Inf. Died July 29th, 1898. A solitary grave lying northward of the last two named.

No. 313. Westward of the last named grave near a point where the trails intersect is a group of four graves. They are on the ridge near the location of the light battery and the camp of Col. Theaker's Regiment. The position is near and a little east of the railroad to Cuabitas. The first grave is that of Private Albert Bergunde, Co. G, 16th U. S. Inf. Died July 26th, 1898.

No. 314. Private Edwin T. Bennett, Co. B, 16th U. S. Inf. Died July 1, 1898.

No. 315. Jno. A. Mendig, Co. K, 16th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 12th, 1898. This is supposed to be the location of this soldier's grave, but the matter is in some doubt.

No. 316. Private Sanford G. Powell, Co. B, 16th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 14th, 1898.

Nos. 317–319. Unknown American soldiers. Near and on the northwest side of the Sabinilla Railroad, and north of the ridge and entrenchments occupied by Gen. Theaker as headquarters on July 12, 1898, are three unmarked graves.

Passing along the road to Cuabitas, and turning to the left, two groups of graves are found on and near the ridges whereon the field battery and the brigade of Gen. Chaffee were encamped. The first group of three is within the curved line of entrenchments close by the battery, and is composed of men of the Twelfth United States Infantry.

No. 320. Private James S. Stallings, Co. B, 12th U. S. Inf. Died July 30th, 1898.

No. 321. Pvt. Alfred Webster, Co. A, 12th U. S. Inf. Died July 20th, 1898.

No. 322. Q. M. Sergt. John W. Blair, N. C. S. 12th U. S. Inf. July 22d, 1898.

Northwest of this group and still nearer the headquarters of Gen. Chaffee at the above date are the graves of three men of the 17th U. S. Infantry. They are situated on the hill underneath a tree with the heads of the graves toward the trunk. There are no crosses or headboards placed at the graves, but the inscriptions which designate the fallen comrades have been carved upon the white space formed by chipping out

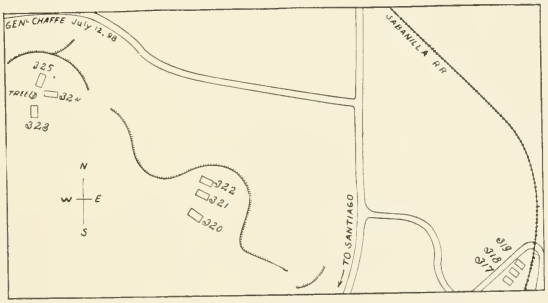


FIG. 140

Chart of burials in the field north of Santiago. (After plan in Quartermaster's Department.)

sections of the bark. A full page drawing of this group will be found Chapter II, Fig. 12.

No. 323. Sergt. Robert Boyle, Co. D., 17th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 4th, 1898.

No. 324. Private Wm. H. Byers, Co. G., 17th U. S. Inf. Died July 27th, 1898.

No. 325. Terence M. McDonald, Musician, Co. D, 17th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 11th, 1898. (For this and the two preceding numbers see Chap. II, Fig. 12.)

No. 326. Private Ernest A. Schetzel, Co. H, 22d U. S. Inf. Died July 2, 1898. I stopped at the headquarters of Captain Edward Plummer, the efficient chief of transportation for the Fifth Army Corps, to inquire the shortest road to the headquarters of Gen. Wheeler. He kindly detailed one of his men, an enlisted soldier from Arizona, to show me the way. Our path led along a trail which led past the Ducaureau mansion and so into the road to Caney. In one of the most solitary portions of this trail we came across a grave on the very edge of the track. The dense chaparral which grew high and wild on either side of the trail overshadowed an earthen mound which was scarcely raised above the surface. The comrades of the dead had made some effort to protect the grave by erecting a frail enclosure of stakes, which already was broken down. A rude marker was placed at the head, upon which the name was written with a lead pencil. A more solitary place for burial one could hardly conceive. Fearing that the constantly passing traffic would soon obliterate all traces of the dead, I gathered sticks and a bit of heavy branch and sought to protect the grave as best I could. I left it, nevertheless, with the fear that this solitary place would never be found. I was glad to learn, however, that Mr. Rhodes and his men had come across it, and that the place was duly designated by a more permanent marker.

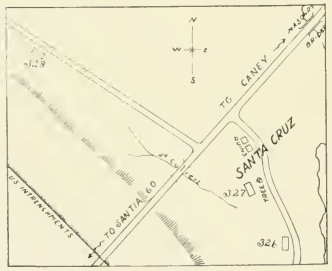


FIG. 141
Chart of graves near Santa Cruz.

No. 327. Private Lawrence Van Valkenburg, Co. H, 4th

U. S. Inf. Died July 2, 1898. A little further along the same trail, but further into the chaparral, is another grave. It could only be found by persistent searching. It is in the very midst of and quite overshadowed by the wild tropical growth. Rabbit trails lead into the deep jungle, and the grave was found by following them.

No. 328. "Private Burton Salisbury, Co. B, 21st Inf. Died Aug. 6, 1898." At the side of the Caney Road, underneath a large guasima tree, is a well-preserved grave (Fig. 142). The edge is marked by stones, and the name is especially well carved on a heavy headboard. The site is about a mile and a half from Santiago. About seventy-five yards distant is a tall palm tree.

FIG. 142
Grave of Burton Salisbury, 21st U. S. Infantry.

On a trail leading into the San Miguel Road, between Caney and Cuabitas, Mr. Rhodes found a group of seven graves. They are located about fifty feet south of the road and about half a mile eastward of Cuabitas. The following is a list of the soldiers buried therein:

No. 329. Private Patrick J. Monahan, Co. B, 7th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 16th, 1898.

No. 330. Private Joseph Reilly, Co. G, 7th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 13th, 1898.

No. 331. Sergt. William B. Thorn, Co. B, 7th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 332. Private Harvey H. Graham, Co. A, 7th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 7th, 1898.

No. 333. Corp. Frank Leroy, Co. F, 7th U. S. Inf.

No. 334. Private William T. Dudley, Co. G, 7th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 3rd, 1898.

No. 335. Private Edward Messet, Co. G, 7th U. S. Inf. Died Aug. 1st, 1898.

No. 336. Unknown American Soldier, probably of the 9th U. S. Cavalry.

Nos. 337, 338. These numbers are designated in Chap. VII, p. 211, Fig. 120.

The Second Division Hospital

This organization has the unsavory distinction of presenting almost the worst record of negligence in marking the deceased soldiers' graves. The original First Divisional Hospital far exceeds it in the number of unknown, but can at least plead the absorbing and exhausting work of battle. The Second Division Hospital had no such excuse. When I visited its headquarters I found the matter had scarcely been considered. I made

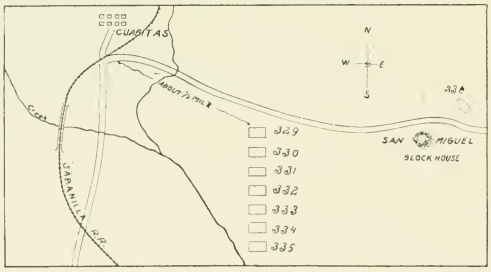


FIG. 143

Chart of graves near San Miguel.

a sketch and notes of the burying plot near the hospital, and on my report of the condition of things to Chief Surgeon Havard a plan and a list of names was made out by the surgeon in charge. In this list several more graves were marked than I found designated on my visit. But of thirty-four burials in the cemetery, only ten were identified at that time. As the surgeon then on duty was an acting assistant surgeon or contract doctor, there remained a bare hope that better results might be obtained from the army surgeons who went to America with Gen. Shafter's army. This hope was realized by the labors of the efficient agent of the Quartermaster's Department. Mr. Rhodes found the same condition of neglect that I have noted, but after his return was able to identify from divers records and reports a number of the unmarked graves, leaving only eight or ten still unknown. The list as known to me now stands as follows:

Fig. 144
Cemetery of Second Division Hospital, Santiago.

No. 339. Private Hugh G. Davis, Company E, 2nd Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 11th, 1898.

No. 340. Private Percy H. Howard, Company B, 1st United States Infantry, died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 341. Private Joseph P. Ashmore, Company D, 12th United States Infantry, died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 342. Corporal Edward B. Moore, Company H, 8th United States Infantry, died Aug. 12th, 1898.

Nos. 343–347. Unknown American Soldiers.

No. 348. Private Daniel E. Gruber, Company C, 8th United States Infantry, died Aug. 8th, 1898.

No. 349. Private Gustave J. Bjork, Company A, 12th United States Infantry, died Aug. 8th, 1898.

No. 350. Private William Kallock, Company G, 22nd United States Infantry, died August 8th, 1898.

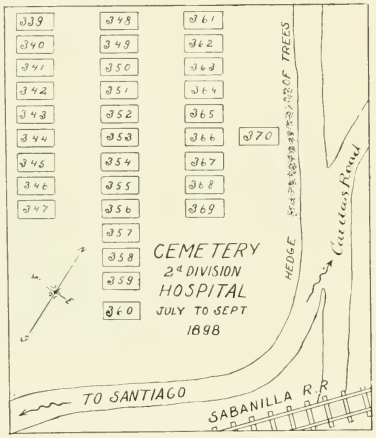


Fig. 146

No. 351. Private William C. Green, Company H, 2nd Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 9th, 1898.

No. 352. Private Paul L. Vesper, Company B, 2nd Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 10th, 1898.

No. 353. Private Albert H. Leek, Company E, 22nd United States Infantry, died Aug. 11th, 1898.

No. 354. Private Joseph C. Griffin, Company H, 8th United States Infantry, died Aug. 11th, 1898.

No. 355. Corporal James Quirke, Company G, 12th United States Infantry, died Aug. 23rd, 1898.

Nos. 356–358. Unknown American Soldiers.

No. 359. Private Henry Berberich, Company G, 4th United States Infantry, died Aug. 29th, 1898.

No. 360. Private George R. Holloway, Company E, 7th United States Infantry, died Aug. 29th, 1898.

No. 361. Private Conrad C. Johnson, Company A, 1st United States Infantry.

No. 362. Corporal Christian Larson, Company F, 12th United States Infantry, died Aug. 3rd, 1898.

No. 363. Private Thomas J. Barrett, Company E, 17th United States Infantry.

No. 364. Private Nathan J. Abbott, Company B, 7th United States Infantry, died Aug. 4th, 1898.

No. 365. Private William Gibson, Company G, 7th United States Infantry, died Aug. 7th, 1898.

No. 366. Corporal William C. Piper, Company K, 2nd Massachusetts Volunteer, died Aug. 4th, 1898.

No. 367. Private Anthony Mahon, Company A, 8th United States Infantry.

Nos. 368-369. Unknown American Soldiers.

No. 370. 2nd Lieutenant William M. Wood, Company G, 12th United States Infantry, died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 371. Corporal George E. Whipple, Company M, 2nd Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 372. Private Hinlong, Company E, United States Engineers. Not on my copy of official list.

Cemetery of the General Field Hospital

The General Field Hospital is situated in the northeastern part of the suburbs of Santiago. It is near the Quartel Reina Mercedes, which has been occupied for some time as a barracks by the men of the Fifth Regular Infantry. The Quartel is a low stone building, and has attracted a large degree of popular interest as the place where Lieut. Hobson and his men were imprisoned after they had been taken from the Morro. Tourists

are now shown, as one of the interesting sites of Santiago, the room in which the gallant naval officer was quartered, and from which he made the observations and notes of the battles of July 1st, and the conditions and incidents preceding and following the same, which may be read in his interesting volume, "The Sinking of the *Merrimac*."

Fig. 146

Reina Mercedes Barracks, Lieut. Hobson's Second Prison.

I do not know who had charge of this hospital from the first, but at the time of my second visit it was in charge of Maj. Robeson, of the regular army. Dr. V. Havard, the Surgeon-Chief, had his quarters in the camp, and the burials

were in charge of Assistant Hospital Steward J. F. Fairman, formerly of the Seventy-first New York Infantry, who had been transferred to the hospital corps of the regular service. The dead were buried one after another in the runways of the Spanish entrenchments, which accounts for the peculiar form of the cemeteries. They were wrapped in sheets and blankets, and not one of all the sixty-six there interred was coffined. However necessary this may have been at first, it seems to me unjustifiable during the last weeks of the Field Hospital's life. The Quartermaster, Capt. Gonzales, furnished coffins for those who died at the Nautical Hospital, and would have done the same on application from any other proper source. All the graves were marked simply but sufficiently. A few have been especially decorated by comrades.

Assistant Steward Fairman, who had charge of the burials, and was one of my fellow-passengers when homeward bound on the *Seguranca*, gave his reasons for converting the runways into cemeteries. Runways are the sunken paths leading to the trenches and batteries just beyond the Spanish hospital, dug below the level to protect the troops during transit. The soil at that point is hard and gravelly, and difficult to dig. Many graves were required, and, owing to the climate, must be prepared speedily. Our soldiers were sick and enfeebled. The runways were deep, dry, near at hand—in short, were ready and suitable for the required use. They were therefore chosen, and thus nearly seventy American soldiers are indebted to their Spanish enemies for the service of preparing them a grave. In the absence of a chaplain, Mr. Fairman himself conducted a simple funeral service at the grave, so that all the dead received Christian burial, none the less appropriate because rendered by comrades.

One day, passing up from the dock, where I had been to get ice for the sick Cubans in the Civil Hospital, I stopped to see a friend at the office and warehouse of the Ward Line of steamers. A long vestibule leads into the inner court, which is an architectural feature of all important buildings in Santiago. Just inside the door, close against the vestibule wall, lay a long pine box, whose character I knew too well, for I had often seen

Fig 147

its like in the Civil War. It contained the embalmed body of a soldier, and was awaiting shipment by the next steamer. The name of the occupant was roughly sketched on the side, "E. W. Whiting." While noting and listing the soldiers buried in the Spanish runways at the General Field Hospital, I found that Whiting was one of those who had been buried there and disinterred for removal to the United States.

One of the soldiers on permanent duty with the medical commissary, whose goods occupied part of the warehouse, had set his cot atop of the coffin case and there slept. The first sight of this gave something of a shock, as though it were a violation of the sanctity of death. But reflection led one to qualify this feeling. Surely, Comrade Whiting would not object that his coffin be used to lift a fellow-soldier above a damp floor? Besides, there was no irreverence in the intention. The very closeness of sympathy and comradeship between the living and the dead soldier took away the sense of repulsion which most persons have from close contact with the dead. The living soldier could sleep with his dead brother as he might have done in tent, or on the field, or in the deadly trench. Yes, they would bivouac together, the living and the dead; for are they not still comrades in that strange fellowship which holds between "death and his twin brother sleep?" By and by—and it may be soon, indeed—"on Fame's eternal camping ground," they will be again united in "the bivouac of the dead."

FIG. 148

> "Sleep and Death, two twins of winged race,
> Of matchless swiftness, but of silent pace."
>
> —*Pope's Homer's Iliad*

On a bit of pine board, apparently the fragment of a cracker box, the name of the dead sleeper was inscribed carefully, as if by a loving hand. The little headboard was laid under the cot upon the top of the burial case, and was doubtless

the one that marked the grave where the hero had been buried. (Fig. 148.)

Of the soldiers interred here 14 belonged to the 34th Michigan, 6 to the 9th Massachusetts, 5 to the 71st New York, 5 to the 1st Illinois, 2 to the 2nd Massachusetts and 1, Capt. Leininger, to the 8th Ohio, and the remainder to various regiments of the regular service.

First Section, General Field Hospital, Santiago

No. 371A.* Private Peter P. Haan, Company D, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 3rd, 1898.

No. 372A. Private George Martin, Company L, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 3rd, 1898.

No. 373. Private Francis W. Cary, Company H, 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 5th, 1898.

No. 374. Private Harry L. Pease, Company H, 8th United States Infantry, died Aug. 4th, 1898.

No. 375. D. C. Hayes, Company B, 20th United States Infantry, died Aug. 5th, 1898.

No. 376. Private Peter F. Vandenboom, Company L, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 4th, 1898.

No. 377. Private Thomas V. Gilbert, Company D, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry.

No. 378. Eugene B. McLoughlin, Company A, 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 16th, 1898.

No. 379. Artificer Frank C. Boyer, Company F, 20th United States Infantry, died Aug. 13th, 1898.

No. 380. Eugene L. Sharrott, Company G, 71st New York Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 13th, 1898.

* The Nos. 371, 372 were previously used and their error discovered too late to change subsequent numeration. I therefore designate these two graves as 371A, 372A.

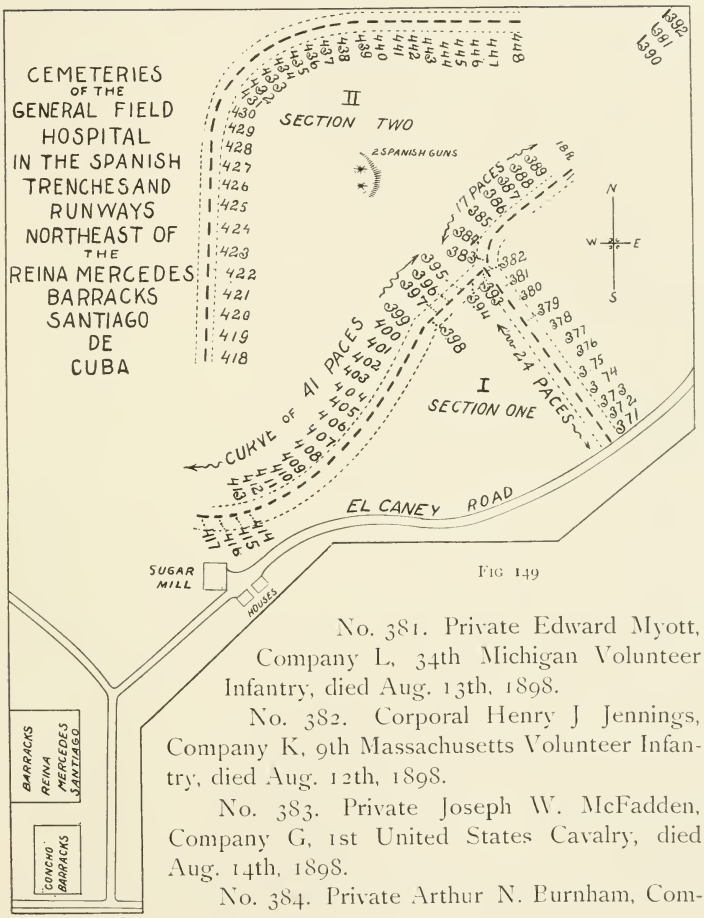


Fig 149

No. 381. Private Edward Myott, Company L, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 13th, 1898.

No. 382. Corporal Henry J Jennings, Company K, 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 383. Private Joseph W. McFadden, Company G, 1st United States Cavalry, died Aug. 14th, 1898.

No. 384. Private Arthur N. Burnham, Com-

pany K, 2nd Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 18th, 1898.

No. 385. Anton C. Anderson, Company K, 3rd United States Infantry, died Aug. 18th, 1898.

No. 386. Private Millard F. Taft, Company H, 3rd United States Infantry, died Aug. 18th, 1898.

No. 387. Corporal Walter A. Jarvis, Company A, 9th United States Infantry, died Aug. 19th, 1898.

No. 388. Private August Johnson, Company E, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 20th, 1898.

No. 389. Corporal Charles Albert Butcher, Company A, 10th United States Infantry, died Aug. 21st, 1898.

No. 390. Private Henry Koester, Jr., Company L, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 3d, 1898.

No. 391. Private Joseph Griener, Company D, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 3d, 1898.

No. 392. Private Joseph Bearry, Company L, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 30th, 1898.

No. 393. Private Silas Isley Mayo, Company C, 2nd Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 5th, 1898.

No. 394. Private John A. Lewis, Company B, 25th United States Infantry, died Aug. 6th, 1898.

No. 395. Private George P. McLaughlin, Company B, 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 6th, 1898.

No. 396. Corporal Henry J. Grills, Company H, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 6th, 1898.

No. 397. Private Stephen Fatlik, Company F, 1st United States Cavalry. Not on my official list.

No. 398. Private Hans Larson, Company H, 3rd United States Infantry, died Aug. 7th, 1898.

FIG. 150

Grave of Capt. John A. Leininger, 8th Ohio Infantry, Santiago.

No. 399. Private Frank J. Muck, Company D, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 7th, 1898.

No. 400. Captain John A. Leininger, Company F, 8th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 8th, 1898. Mr. Fairman, in speaking of the burial of Capt. Leininger, said: "He was a fine officer, a gentleman, and, from what I could learn, a noble character. It grieved me to see the earth thrown upon the uncoffined face of such an officer, but we had to do it. I read a funeral service over him, as was done over all the dead in this cemetery." At my second visit the grass and vegetation had sprung up on either side of the burial line so rankly as to reach the middle of one's body. While showing my portfolio of drawings to President McKinley, he recognized the name of Capt. Leininger as an officer whom he knew from his home section in Eastern Ohio. (Fig. 150.)

No. 401. Private James Connolly, Company C, 1st United States Cavalry, died Aug. 8th, 1898.

No. 402. Private John J. Pepper, Company E, 6th United States Infantry, died Aug. 8th, 1898.

No. 403. Private Edwin W. Whiting, Company A, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 8th, 1898. (See Figs. 147, 148.)

No. 404. Private Lewis C. Heath, Company C, 71st New York Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 8th, 1898.

No. 405. Corporal John W. Kyte, Company L, 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, Aug. 8th, 1898.

No. 406. Private John Hogan, Company D, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 8th, 1898.

No. 407. Private Joseph D. Lane, Company I, 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 9th, 1898.

No. 408. Private George H. Culman, Company M, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 9th, 1898. The grave of Private Culman had been carefully and even elaborately

decorated by his comrades. The headboard was covered with a piece of sheet zinc, and on this the name, company and date of death were punched. In the centre was outlined a cross rising out of a hemisphere. The mound is fringed with a number of undischarged Spanish five-inch shells, of which many are lying around the premises, and also with shells of heavier calibre.

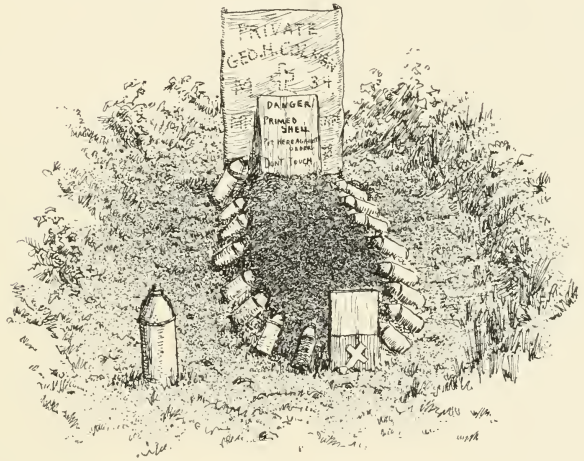


Fig. 151

Grave of George H. Culman, 34th Michigan.

On the footboard is carved a cross. The hospital steward had placed at the head of the grave a warning notice: "Danger. Primed Shell. Don't touch!" A pencilled addition in current writing stated that the shells had been "placed here against orders." However, they had not been disturbed, and the picturesqueness of this grave relieved the monotony of the long line of plain mounds.

No. 409. Private Harvey McGuire, Company E, 6th United States Infantry, died Aug. 10th, 1898.

No. 410. Private William J. Waters, Company B, 8th United States Infantry, died Aug. 10th, 1898.

No. 411. Private Herman W. Goetz, Company F, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 10th, 1898.

No. 412. Private John A. Shaw, Company F, 71st New York Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 11th, 1898.

No. 413. Private Edward C. Kroupa, Company B, 71st New York Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 11th, 1898.

No. 414. Musician William H. Leonard, Company H, 3rd United States Infantry, died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 415. Quartermaster Sergeant Frank S. Alden, Company L, 71st New York Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 416. Private Thomas Begley, Company C, 21st United States Infantry, died Aug. 21st, 1898.

No. 417. Sergeant Thomas Maher, Company H, 21st United States Infantry, died Aug. 21st, 1898.

List of Burials in Section II, Cemetery General Field Hospital

The first series of entrenchments and runways having been filled with our dead, a second series was appropriated. It is a curved entrenchment, to the west of the above, and further from the main road.

No. 418. Private George Fleckenstine, Company C, 20th United States Infantry, died Aug. 30th, 1898.

No. 419. Private Charles Thorne, Company B, 6th United States Infantry, died Aug. 28th, 1898.

No. 420. Private George J. Briggs, Company I, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 25th, 1898.

No. 421. Private Charles Bender, Company K, 1st United States Artillery, died Aug. 28th, 1898.

No. 422. Private John A. Miroski, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 27th, 1898.

No. 423. Private Eugene A. Huzzy, Company A, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 24th, 1898.

No. 424. Private Thomas Davis, Company D, 7th United States Infantry, died Aug. 23d, 1898.

No. 425. Private John W. Fairchild, Company C, 10th United States Infantry, died Aug. 24th, 1898.

No. 426. Private John J. Murphy, Company A, 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 24th, 1898.

No. 427. Private James H. Miller, Company D, 2nd United States Infantry, died Aug. 25th, 1898.

No. 428. Sergeant Raymond C. Buell, Company A, 2nd United States Infantry, died Aug. 25th, 1898.

No. 429. Private Andrew F. Hagerstrand, Company B, 7th United States Infantry, died Aug. 25th, 1898.

No. 430. Private Archibald H. Jones, Company F, 2nd United States Infantry, died Aug. 25th, 1898.

No. 431. Corporal Charles Viberts, Company I, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 26th, 1898.

No. 432. Wagoner George R. Bray, Company F, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died Sept. 3rd, 1898.

No. 433. Private Eugene Munger, Company C, 1st United States Cavalry, died Sept. 3rd, 1898.

No. 434. Private Ernest W. Baltzer, Company G, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died Sept. 5th, 1898.

No. 435. Corporal George E. Hinnen, Company F, 2nd United States Infantry, died Sept. 7th, 1898.

No. 436. Private George B. Lovejoy, Company E, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Sept. 12th, 1898.

No. 437. Civilian Jacob Starke with 2nd Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, died Sept. 10th, 1898.

No. 438. Sergeant William Ryan, Company I, 20th United States Infantry, died Sept. 14th, 1898.

No. 439. Private Francis Casey, Company K, 2d United States Volunteer Infantry, died Sept. 15th.

No. 440. Corporal Charles W. Kingston, Company M, 9th United States Volunteer Infantry, died Sept. 16th, 1898.

No. 441. Private L. V. Jerome, 9th United States Volunteer Infantry. Not on my official list.

No. 442. Musician Albert Richardson, Company L, 9th United States Volunteer Infantry, died September 17th, 1898.

No. 443. Corporal John J. Nikodem, Company K, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died September 17th, 1898.

No. 444. Private William Frederick, Company K, 9th United States Volunteer Infantry, died Sept. 20th, 1898.

No. 445. Private John Kilgallon, Company A, 9th United States Infantry, died Sept. 21st, 1898.

No. 446. Private William H. Brigham, Co. K, 2d United States Volunteer Infantry, died Sept. 21st, 1898.

No. 447. Civilian Oscar Saltus, Packer, United States, died Sept. 22nd, 1898.

No. 448. Private John Thomas, Company M, 9th United States Volunteer Infantry, died Sept. 22d, 1898.

Burials from the General Hospital at Siboney

The ordinary burying ground for the American troops at Siboney was in the loop made by the valley road to Santiago, almost opposite the railroad bridge at Siboney. Here some of

the first interments were made. Among them were two Michigan soldiers killed during the attempt on Aguadores on July 1, 1898.

When the yellow fever broke out, and under the spirit of the first panic, a hospital camp was established in the hills at a considerable distance from the landing. But the inconvenience of a location so far from the base of supplies was such, especially in view of the lack of transportation facilities and the prevailing inaptitude and debility among the men, that a new hospital was established on the slopes of the ridge above the beach at Siboney. The cemetery which had already been selected in the hills about a mile from the first burying ground at the railroad bridge, was maintained, and therein were interred most of those who died of yellow fever and other diseases at the General Siboney Hospital. The graves to the number of 106 are regularly laid out, one beside another in long rows, beginning at a point about fifty yards from the railroad track of the mining company.

On the 16th of July the Twenty-fourth United States Infantry was detailed to guard the fever hospital, and on the next day a cordon of sentinels was drawn around the premises so as to prevent all unauthorized communication with those outside the bounds. The place was quarantined against the rest of the world. Shortly after my arrival in Santiago, happening to speak of my purpose to go to Siboney on an errand of mercy, I was authoritatively informed that if I went I could not return, but must remain at the place. However, the quarantine was not so strict but that (as I happen to know) there was always more or less communication between the two places. Indeed, it would have been an act of gross inhumanity to wholly cut off such communications, as it was absolutely

necessary for the maintenance of the hospitals that there should be some passing to and fro on the part of those most nearly concerned in the care of the sick. However, it must be allowed that the quarantine was maintained with a reasonable degree of fidelity, and the very name of Siboney became, at least to the soldiers of the Fifth Army Corps and the people of Santiago, a synonym for all that is horrible in the annals of human suffering; a pest hole, a valley of death and the shadow thereof.

The conduct of the men of the Twenty-fourth Infantry in volunteering to aid in nursing the sick is elsewhere described. (See Chapter XII.) It has been the theme of many admiring writers, who are of one mind as to the heroic and humane action of those who deliberately walked into the jaws of the pestilence to serve their comrades and their fellow-men. They cared for the sick; they aided in the work of cleaning and disinfecting the premises; they assisted in the burial of the dead. As the result of this campaign against the pestilence amid the hills of Siboney, the most gallant, perilous, self-denying of the entire war, they lost Capt. Charles Dodge and six-and-thirty enlisted men. In the following list I have marked with an asterisk the names of this officer and twenty soldiers of the Twenty-fourth Infantry who fell in this heroic service, and whose graves have been identified in the General Cemetery. There remain sixteen men, who died during or as the result of this tour of duty, whose graves have not been identified and whose burial places are unknown to me. Of these sixteen, three names are found upon the official list in the Adjutant-General's office, and eleven names have been obtained from a report given by Mr. Stephen Bonsal in a foot note to page 434 of his "Fight for Santiago." Doubtless some of these men rest in those graves of the General Cemetery marked "Unknown," and probably some of them were

transported to Montauk Point and are buried there. The names of these brave soldiers who have shed such lustre upon the records of our regular army and of their race, will be found at the close of the list of Fallen Heroes beginning with No. 615.

No. 449. Captain Charles Dodge,* Company C, 24th United States Infantry. Died July 30, 1898.

No. 450. Lieutenant James B. Steele, Company F, Signal Corps, United States Volunteers. Died Aug. 5, 1898.

No. 451. Lieutenant Richard J. Harden, Company A, 1st Regiment District of Columbia Volunteers. Died Aug. 9, 1898.

No. 452. Private Jacob P. Phillips,* Company E, 24th United States Infantry. Died Aug. 14, 1898.

No. 453. Sergeant Fred E. Stuart, United States Vol. Signal Corps, died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 454. Private Charles Whiting, Company G, 3rd United States Infantry. Died Aug. 11, 1898.

No. 455. Private Robert Boettcher, Company A, 1st Ill. Volunteer Infantry. Aug. 10, 1898.

No. 456. Private Franklin Campbell, Company G, 7th United States Infantry, Aug. 9, 1898.

No. 457. Private Herbert Barr, Company F, 33rd Michigan Infantry. Not on any official list.

No. 458. Private Warren Green,*, Company H, 24th United States Infantry. Died Aug. 5, 1898.

No. 459. Teamster C. C. Comb, United States Army. Not on official list.

No. 460. Private W. Shelly, Company D, 20th United States Infantry. Not on official list.

No. 461. Unknown American Soldier.

No. 462. Sergeant John Lannen, Company G, 3d U. S. Cavalry, died July 24th, 1898.

No. 463. Private Ward Mars, Company I, 33rd Michigan Volunteer Infantry. Died July 24, 1898.

Nos. 464–465. Unknown American Soldiers.

No. 466. Sergeant Major Clair H. Stetson, 1st United States Infantry. Died July 12, 1898.

No. 467. Private ——— Palmer, Company E, 7th United States Infantry. Not on the official list.

No. 468. Private ——— Wabur, Company H, 33rd Michigan Infantry. Not on official list.

No. 469. Teamster M. Stewart, United States Army. Not on official list.

No. 470. Private William Park, Company K, 1st Illinois Infantry. Not on official list.

No. 471. Private James F. Farrell, Company H, 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. Died July 26, 1898.

No. 472. Private William Brent,* Musician, Company H, 24th United States Infantry. Died July 29, 1898.

No. 473. Private Arthur E. Fessette, Company C, 33rd Michigan Volunteer Infantry. Died Aug. 2, 1898.

No. 474. Private Paul Zoubeck, Company K, 1st Illinois Infantry. Died Aug. 4th, 1898.

No. 475. Private Robert Ramsey,* Company C, 24th United States Infantry. Died Aug. 6, 1898.

No. 476. Private John E. Gregg, Company I, 1st Illinois Infantry. Died Aug. 14, 1898

No. 477. Private Abraham Benson,* Company E, 24th United States Infantry. Died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 478. Private Peter H. Devoe, Company E, 7th United States Infantry, died Aug. 11th, 1898.

No. 479. Sergeant Arthur Henry, Company B, 33rd Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 10, 1898.

No. 480. Private Charles Hoadley, Company L, 1st Illinois Infantry. Died Aug. 8, 1898.

No. 481. Private Walter Reeves,* Company G, 24th United States Infantry, died Aug. 8th, 1898.

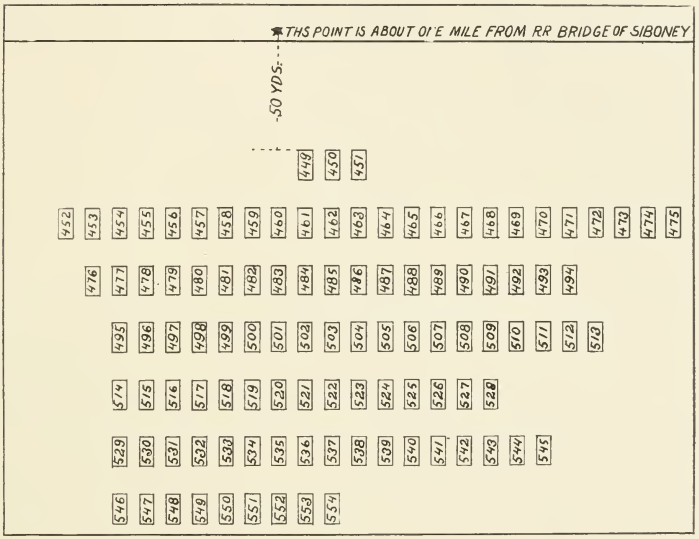


FIG. 152

Chart of burials at Cemetery of the General Hospital at Siboney.

No. 482. Corporal Parton C. Nottingham, Company K, 33rd Michigan Infantry, Aug. 5, 1898.

No. 483. Private J. Alfred Stevenson, Company A, 33d Michigan Infantry, died Aug. 3d, 1898.

No. 484. Corporal Henry A. Shaw,* Company F, 24th United States Infantry, died Aug. 2d, 1898.

No. 485. Private Carter Boggs,* Company H, 24th United States Infantry. Not on official list.

No. 486. Private Isaac A. Lester,* Company A, 24th United States Infantry, died Aug. 1st, 1898.

No. 487. Private ——— Baucher, Company I, 1st Illinois Infantry. Possibly Robert Boettcher, Co. M, 1st Ill. Inf., who died Aug. 10, 1898.

No. 488. Private Paul G. Le Maitre, Company L, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died July 31st, 1898.

No. 489. Private Otto W. Johnson, Company F, 4th United States Artillery, died Aug. 2d, 1898.

No. 490. Private Alfred H. Taylor, Company H, 21st United States Infantry, died Aug. 4th, 1898.

No. 491. Private Oren Thornburn, Company B, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 4th, 1898.

No. 492. Corporal George F. Haven, Company D, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 5th, 1898.

No. 493. Sergeant Jesse J. Griffith, Company C, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 5th, 1898.

No. 494. Private Frank Gibler, Company I, 8th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 5th, 1898.

No. 495. Private Frank M. Burton, Company I, 33rd Michigan Volunteers, died Aug. 14, 1898. This soldier and the next following are buried in one grave.

No. 495. Private John E. Gregg, Company I, 1st Illinois Infantry, died Aug. 14th, 1898.

No. 496. Private Charles Hicks,* Company F, 24th United States Infantry, died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 497. Private Dudley A. Foster, Company F, 7th United States Infantry. Not on official list.

No. 498. Private Frank M. Fuller, Company M, 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 10th, 1898.

No. 499. Private John Wilson, Company I, 10th United States Cavalry, died Aug. 9th, 1898.

No. 500. Private Charles Koschig, Company H, 33rd Michigan Infantry, died July 31st, 1898.

No. 501. Private Edward Benegam, Company D, 33rd Michigan Infantry. Not on official list.

No. 502. Corporal Thomas Robertson,* Company B, 24th United States Infantry, died July 27th, 1898.

No. 503. Private Wm. H. Dollard, Company C, 33rd Michigan Infantry, died July 26, 1898.

No. 504. Corporal Charles Wamble,* Company E, 24th United States Infantry, died July 25, 1898.

No. 505. John Beauman, 1st class Private, Balloon Detail, United States Signal Corps, died July 26, 1898.

No. 506. Private Kahlert Deaths, 13th United States Infantry. Not on official list.

No. 507. Unknown Musician, 34th Michigan V. I.

No. 508. Private Sanford G. Powell, Company B, 16th United States Infantry, died Aug. 14th, 1898.

No. 509. Private William Bartholomew, Company D, 2nd United States Cavalry, died Aug. 1st, 1898.

No. 510. Private Max H. Pausler, Company D, 33rd Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died July 29, 1898.

No. 511. Private Charles H. Diggs,* Company D, 24th United States Infantry, died Aug. 7th, 1898.

No. 512. Private Frank Abels, Company D, 7th United States Infantry, died Aug. 27th, 1898.

No. 513. Unknown American Soldier.

No. 514. Private Sandy Smith,* Company H, 24th United States Infantry.

No. 515. Private John H. Pausler, Company H, 4th United States Artillery, died Aug. 15th, 1898.

No. 516. Private Ebbie N. Bland, Company A, 8th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 12th, 1898.

No. 517. Private John H. Brackman, Jr., Company L, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 11th, 1898.

No. 518. Private Maryland H. Thompson, Company I, 10th United States Cavalry, died Aug. 10th, 1898.

No. 519. Corporal George L. Happer, Company H, 8th Ohio Infantry, died Aug. 7, 1898.

No. 520. Private Luis Tick, Company G, 33rd Michigan Infantry, died Aug. 14, 1898.

No. 521. Wagoner Frank M. Vine, Company E, 9th United States Cavalry, died Aug. 17th, 1898.

No. 522. Private James R. Sedden,* Company F, 24th United States Infantry, died Aug. 18th, 1898.

No. 523. Musician Robert Booker,* Company H, 24th United States Infantry, died Aug. 24th, 1898.

No. 524. Private Irwin Whitson, Company G, 10th United States Cavalry, died Aug. 28th, 1898.

No. 525. Private William Pendleton,* Company F, 24th United States Infantry. Not on the official list.

No. 526. Private A. P. Peterson, Company K, 1st Illinois Infantry, died Aug. 31st, 1898.

No. 527. Private Frayer Appleby,* Company A, 24th United States Infantry, died Sept. 2, 1898.

No. 528. Private Charles C. Mitchell, Company L, 8th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, died Sept. 4th, 1898.

No. 529. Private John Richards,* Company B, 24th United States Infantry, died Aug. 24th, 1898.

No. 530. Private James F. Sills, Company C, 33rd Michigan Infantry, died Aug. 7th, 1898.

No. 531. Private Daniel J. Maloney, Company G, 33rd Michigan Infantry, died Aug. 13th, 1898.

No. 532. Private John E. Fallon, Company H, 1st Illinois Infantry, died Aug. 16th, 1898.

No. 533. Private John S. Lee, Company G, 8th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 16th, 1898.

No. 534. Private Charles J. Phillips, Company F, 33rd Michigan Infantry. Not on official list.

No. 535. Private Daniel P. Meadows, Company D, 16th United States Infantry, died Aug. 14th, 1898.

No 536. Private Cornelius Henk, H. C., U. S Army, died Aug. 15th, 1898.

No. 537. Private Arthur Malehan, Company L, 33rd Michigan Infantry, died Aug. 17th, 1898.

No. 538. Private Albert P. Van Slyke, Company A, 33rd Michigan Infantry, died Aug. 17th, 1898.

No. 539. Private Francis Smith, Company H, 6th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 25th, 1898.

No. 540. Private James Edgar, Company I, 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 26th, 1898.

No. 541. Private John G. O'Brien, Company G, 1st Illinois Infantry, died Aug. 20th, 1898.

No. 542. Private Henry Chubbs,* Company H, 24th United States Infantry, died Aug. 30th, 1898.

No 543. Teamster Michael Feeny (or Fenney), United States Army, died Sept. 2d, 1898.

No. 544. Private Effie J. Bassett,* Company G, 24th United States Infantry, Sept. 6th, 1898.

No. 545. Private Guy E. Poole, L Company, 33rd Michigan Infantry, died Sept. 13th, 1898.

No. 546. Sergeant Timothy K. McCarthy, Company A, 13th United States Infantry, died Aug. 24th, 1898.

No. 547. Private Mosley Gaines, Company B, 10th United States Infantry, died Aug. 19th, 1898.

No. 548. Private Robert L. Armstrong, Company H, 8th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 17th, 1898.

No. 549. Private Humphrey Montgomery,* Company A, 24th United States Infantry, died Aug. 17th, 1898.

No. 550. Private Norman J. G. MacMillan, Company M, 71st New York Infantry, died Aug. 20th, 1898.

No. 551. Sergeant Henry E. Connors, Company G, 33rd Michigan Infantry, died Aug. 21st, 1898.

No. 552. Musician Frank E. Sharp, Company C, 33rd Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 19th, 1898.

No. 553. Private Robert M. Zigler, Company I, 16th United States Infantry, died Aug. 22nd, 1898.

No. 554. Private Thomas H. Mulford, Company L, 1st Illinois Infantry, died Aug. 25th, 1898.

Original Field Cemetery at Siboney

At the foot of the Siboney Ridge where the valley road turns northward to the battlefield of Las Guasimas and so on towards Santiago, and just outside the village of Siboney is a smaller cemetery containing some twenty graves, most of them of unknown soldiers. It is probable that the greater part of these died from sickness, perhaps some from yellow fever, although

the sufferers from that disease were sent to the General Hospital among the hills, and were buried in the cemetery there. But the records indicate that at least two were killed in battle on July 1st, in the demonstration of Gen. Duffield's brigade of Michigan soldiers against Aguadores. The cemetery is located about one hundred and fifty yards northwest from the railroad bridge at Siboney. The list is as follows:

Nos. 555–559. Unknown American Soldiers. A few of the unknown soldiers in the list have, I believe, been recently identified in the Quartermaster's Department.

No. 560. Private John Franklin, Company L, 33rd Michigan Volunteers. Died July 1st, 1898. Buried in the same grave as the next following.

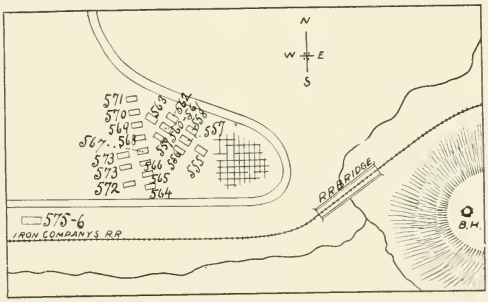


Fig. 153

Chart of burials in the Cemetery at Siboney.

No. 561. Private Ferdinand Seabright, Company L, 33rd Michigan Volunteers. Died July 1st, 1898. Buried in the same grave as John Franklin. These two men were the only fatal casualties in the demonstration made by Gen. Duffield against the Spanish fort at Aguadores, which formed part of the general movement of July 1st, 1898.

Nos. 562–568. Unknown American Soldiers.

No. 569. Private Otis M. Marr, Company K, 33rd Michigan Volunteer Infantry, died July 11th, 1898.

FIG. 154

The Boat Club House, Santiago, known as the Nautical Hospital.

No. 570. Lieutenant William C. Neary, 1st United States Infantry. This grave was designated by Mr. D. H. Rhodes and is charted by him under the name of Lieut. William C. Neary, 1st United States Infantry. There is no other record, and on referring to the copy of the official list in my possession I do not find such a name.

Nos. 571–573, 573. Unknown American Soldiers. No. 573 has been erroneously duplicated in the chart and the number 574 omitted.

Nos. 575–576. In an isolated spot near the railroad track and about one hundred yards east of the railroad depot are two unknown American soldiers.

Burials from the Nautical Club Hospital

At the foot of the City of Santiago is the handsome boat-house of the Nautical Club. It is set well out in the water, and is united by a bridge to the Alameda, a broad boulevard that skirts the bay. When I first visited the place, July 25, 1898, it had already been converted into a hospital. In the large boat-room, about thirty by forty feet in dimensions, many soldiers were lying on the bare floor in their soiled uniforms, suffering from calentura, typhoid and malarial fevers. There were no cots, no pillows, no bed coverings, and many of the men were without blankets. The sick were closely crowded, and lay on the porches, and even on the landing stage. It was a heartrending sight. But cots and medical supplies were soon furnished. Bad as affairs were here, the sick at least had the advantage of a dry floor and a roof over their heads, which those in the camp outside of the city did not at that time possess. A few, indeed, had erected bamboo shacks, covered with palm

leaves, and provided with a raised frame of slats, that elevated the body above the damp ground (Fig. 155); but this device was not common.

The interments from this hospital, which continued until the final breaking up and concentration in the Spanish Military Hospital, were made in the City Cemetery. I believe that all were buried in coffins by the quartermaster, whose duty it is to attend to such matters. A record has been kept of the

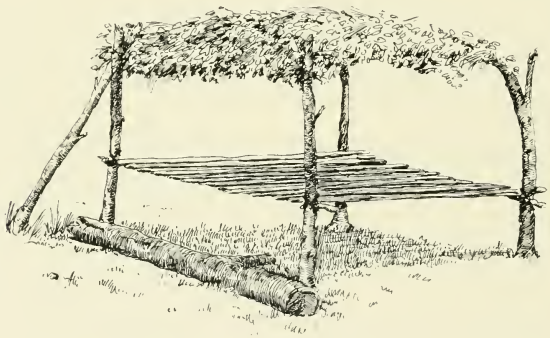


Fig. 155

A bamboo camp cot in the Fifth Army Corps.

sections in which interments were made, and all have been identified without much difficulty. But in a number of cases the record is indefinite, or lacking in some details.

During the last two months of its occupation by our Government, the Nautical Hospital was under the care of women nurses, whose efficient services did much to comfort the inmates, and undoubtedly saved many lives. Among those who wrought in this kindly work were Miss Brooks, a niece of a

prominent British merchant in Santiago; Miss Packard, a daughter of ex-Governor Packard, and Miss Annie Wheeler, the daughter of Maj.-Gen. Joseph Wheeler, who carries in her slight frame as courageous a spirit as that which animates her gallant and distinguished father.

The record of this family furnishes an interesting illustration of the influence of the Spanish-American war in demonstrating the progress made in healing the breach caused by the Civil War between the North and the South. Maj.-Gen. Wheeler's recent service is justly regarded as highly valuable to the country. A son bearing his name, an officer in the regular army, served with him on his staff during the Santiago campaign. Another son served in the navy on the U. S. S. *Columbia*, and his daughter Annie faced hospital fevers in a torrid climate under conditions that witness alike to her humanity and her patriotism.

No. 577. George Keffer, packmaster, U. S. Army. He was assassinated by a Cuban who stabbed him while standing upon the dock for some fancied insult. A good monument has been erected over his grave by his regimental friends.

No. 578. Private Ralph Lahman, Company G, 1st Illinois Infantry, died ——. This name is not upon my official list.

No. 579. Corporal Emory Brown, 10th United States Cavalry, died ——. This name is not on the official list.

No. 580. Private Ward A. Willford, Company B, 8th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 15th, 1898.

No. 581. Unknown American Soldier.

No. 582. Private James McGowan, Company B, United States Infantry, died July 29th, 1898.

No. 583. Private Richard M. Requa, Company C, 9th United States Infantry, died Aug. 19th, 1898.

No. 584. Private Andrew Thornton, Company G, 9th United States Infantry, died July 29th, 1898.

No. 585. Private Melville B. Huffman, Company C, 9th United States Infantry, died Aug. 1st, 1898.

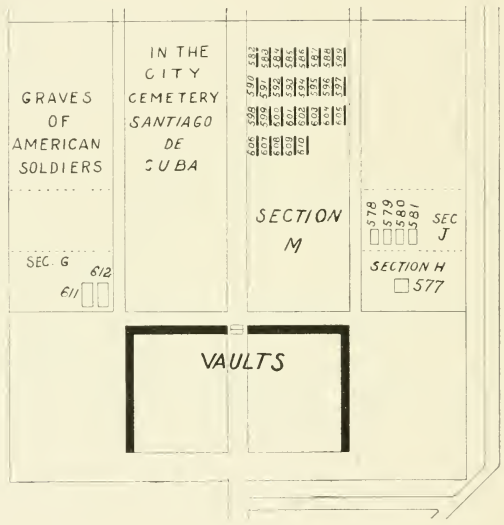


Fig. 156

No. 586. Corporal Oliver Harris, Company D, 2nd Massachusetts Infantry.

No. 587. Justice H. Ibamrod, or Hamrod.

No. 588. Civilian C. C. Bangs.

No. 589. 1st Lieut. William G. Elliott, Company E, 12th United States Infantry, died Aug. 11th, 1898.

No. 590. Private Robert C. Guy, Company D, 2nd United

States Cavalry, died Aug. 12, 1898. On Mr. Rhodes' list the name is "—— Grey."

No. 591. Private William D. Manley, Company H, 16th United States Infantry, died Sept. 4th, 1898.

No. 592. "——— Maupin (Disinterred)." The name thus marked on the register may be Private Socrates Mauplin, Company G, 1st D. C. Infantry.

No. 593. William Walters (or Walthus), civilian, apparently in Government service.

No. 594. Private Bernard McBride, Company I, 2nd United States Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 23rd, 1898.

No. 595. Civilian Leopold Debend, Packer, United States Army, died Aug. 26th, 1898.

No. 596. Private Harry A. Dolliver, Company H, 2nd United States Volunteer Infantry, died Aug. 27th, 1898.

No. 597. Private George Sandoe, Company G, 21st United States Infantry, died Aug. 30th, 1898.

No. 598. Private Luther Rusher, Company F, 5th United States Infantry, died Aug. 30th, 1898.

No. 599. Civilian Charles Johnson, apparently in Government service, died Sept. 4th, 1898.

No. 600. Civilian Frank W. Douglass, died Sept. 8th, 1898. Apparently in Government service.

No. 601. Private Clifford T. Houghton, Company F, 9th United States Infantry, died September 6, 1898.

No. 602. Private John Pillar, Company D, 5th United States Infantry, died Sept. 10th, 1898.

No. 603. Private Benjamin C. Boothby, Company B, 2nd United States Volunteer Infantry, died Sept. 10th, 1898.

No. 604. Private John Nash, Company C, 5th United States Infantry, died September 12th, 1898.

FIG. 157

View in the City Cemetery at Santiago.

No. 605. Private Gilbert A. Brown, Company E, 5th United States Infantry, died Sept. 12th, 1898.

No. 606. Private Otto H. Seefeldt, Company D, 5th United States Infantry, died Sept. 16th, 1898.

No. 607. Private John B. Blake, Company F, 5th United States Infantry, died Sept. 19th, 1898.

No. 608. Private Robert T. Corbin, Company H, 5th United States Infantry, died Sept. 21st, 1898.

No. 609. Private Arthur L. Atwood, Company C, 5th United States Infantry, died Sept. 28th, 1898.

No. 610. Private Jesse Dugan, Company C, 5th United States Infantry, died Sept. 25, 1898.

No. 611. 1st Lieutenant Michael J. O'Brien, Company A, 5th United States Infantry, died Sept. 16th, 1898.

No. 612. Captain Gregory Barrett, Company A, 10th United States Infantry, died Aug. 7th, 1898. A good monument is erected over the remains, the site for the grave having been purchased by his regimental friends.

No. 613. Sergeant August Anderson, Company B, 20th U. S. Infantry, died Aug. 20th, 1898. (Disinterred.)

No. 614. Charles Franklin, civilian, died about July 28th, 1898. This name recalled an incident that greatly affected me. On my first visit to the Civil Hospital as an Inspector, while going the rounds with several American Sisters of Charity, who had come over with us on the *Yale* to nurse the sick, we had just passed out of one of the male wards when we heard some one calling behind us: "Americano, Americano!" One of the Cuban attendants stood at the ward door waving his hands franctically, pointing backward, and shouting in Spanish.

"There is an American sick in here," explained my interpreter.

We turned back. A handsome mulatto lad lay upon a cot with both arms outstretched toward us, his face radiant for the moment amidst his pains at the welcome greeting of our English tongue. He clasped my hands convulsively.

"What is the matter?" I asked, soothingly.

Nothing but "yaller janders." He would be all right if his head did not hurt so. His name was Charles Franklin, of Logan, Colorado, and he was "the boy" of some officer in the Seventh United States Regulars.

His mind began to wander. The pain became so severe that he rolled back and forth upon his cot, then sat up upon it.

"Let us pray." I kneeled at his bedside, and holding his hands, commended him, body and soul, to God. The soothing influence of the devotions stilled the distracted nerves. He was quiet while I prayed. It was a striking scene. The kneeling chaplain; the patient seated on the side of the cot holding the chaplain's uplifted hands; the good Sisters, American and Spanish, reverently bowing, as though joining in the prayer; the tall form of the interpreter bending in their midst. The hospital nurses looked on with subdued mien. The sick from their surrounding cots turned to gaze at us, their wan, pallid faces, lit up by a moment's curiosity. I left the lad with the apostolic benediction on his brow and turned away.

"It is our only case of yellow fever," said the Spanish Sister Superior. "He will surely die; he is in the last stage."

"Yes," just a little startled, perhaps, said our American Sister Mary. "I could tell it by the eyes."

"And by the odor!" added Sister Apollonia.

"And, my good doctor," said Sister Regis, running up to me, "you have been exposed to the infection! You held his

hands. You took his breath. But do not fear. It was an act of charity and our Heavenly Father will surely care for you."

Nevertheless, the kind lady whipped out of some mysterious receptacle about her dress a bottle of disinfectant stuff, and bidding me hold out my hands, filled the palms and made me lave the skin. Like Oliver Cromwell, she "trusted in God," but kept her remedies ready. Good theology, and good practice, too.

Poor lad! He was isolated at once and three doctors "sat" upon him when he died. Two said yellow fever, one said malignant malarial. All the same, his campaign in Cuba is ended, and, let us hope, his spirit rests in peace. As to his body, it was carried to the Santiago Cemetery and cremated, and the incident of my meeting with him vividly recurred when I saw his name among the American soldiers buried there.

The following, Nos. 615–629 inclusive, are the names of soldiers of the Twenty-fourth Infantry buried in the cemetery of the General Hospital, commonly known as the yellow fever hospital at Siboney, whose graves have not been located. (See page 284.)

No. 615. Private W. M. M. Perry, Company A, 24th U. S. Infantry. Died at Fort Douglas, Utah.*

No. 616. Private Budd Ashton, Company A, 24th U. S. Infantry. Died in hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y.*

No. 617. Private Frank Carter, Company A, 24th U. S. Infantry. Died in hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y.*

No. 618. Private John E. Mealy, Company C, 24th U. S. Infantry. Died in hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 9, 1898.*

*The notes appended to the names marked with an asterisk (*) have been kindly furnished at my request by the Quartermaster-General. All except Perry, Nelson, Rause and Johnson are buried in the Cypress Hills National Cemetery, Brooklyn, N. Y.

No. 619. Private J. Nelson, Company C, 24th U. S. Infantry. Not on the official roll of the regiment.*

No. 620. Private John Garrett, Company D, 24th U. S. Infantry. Died at Camp Wikoff, Montauk Point, L. I.*

No. 621. Private Edward Penn, Company D, 24th U. S. Infantry. Died Aug. 5th, 1898.

No. 622. Private James J. Buford, Company E, 24th U. S. Infantry. Died at Bedloe's Island, N. Y.*

No. 623. Private Richard H. Brown, Company F, 24th U. S. Infantry. Died at Camp Wikoff, L. I.*

No. 624. Private Herman Rause, Company G, 24th U. S. Infantry. Not on the official roll of the regiment.*

No. 625. Private William J. Mosely, Company H, 24th United States Infantry. Died Aug. 11th, 1898.

No. 626. Private Mortimer Spencer, Company H, 24th U. S. Infantry. Died Oct. 5th, 1898.

No. 627. Private William Griggs, Company H, 24th U. S. Infantry. Died at Camp Wikoff, L. I.

No. 628. Private Carter Boggs, Company H, 24th U. S. Infantry.

No. 629. Corporal Lewis Johnson, Company H, 24th U. S. Infantry. Reported as having died at Camp Wikoff, but his name is not on the list of interments at that place.*

On the register of deaths in the First Divisional Hospital (page 250) I found several names whose burial places I was not able to locate. I insert them here as a possible aid to final identification.

No. 630. Private Charles McGown, Co. B, U. S. Infantry, died Aug. 10th, 1898.

No. 631. Private John O'Connor, Co. K, 71st New York Infantry, died Aug. 11th, 1898.

No. 632. Private Arnold Geisman, Co. K, 71st New York Infantry, died Aug. 13th, 1898.

No. 633. Private Charles McCutcheon, —— ——, died Aug. 14th, 1898.

No. 634. Private Charles Gombert, Co. K, 71st New York Infantry, died Aug. 16th, 1898.

A Plan for Marking Soldiers' Graves

In reviewing the story of the martial graves of our fallen heroes recorded in these pages, one is impressed with the lack of system and the absence of definite responsibility in the United States army for preserving the identity of the dead. The sufficient reason for making this fact public is the hope that something satisfactory may result. Can a practical mode be proposed? If so, can the War Department be induced to adopt it? With these questions in mind, I tried to find out what methods European nations have adopted for designating the graves of their fallen soldiers and sailors. The information obtained is interesting, but gives no suggestion of value to determine a rule for ourselves.

In the army of Great Britain there is no rule laid down. The regimental authorities do what they can, according to circumstances, and, when possible, the staff authorities organize proper graveyards. The various quartermasters, as in our own army, are expected to attend to the duty of burial. The public sentiment of the army, however, insures for the most part reverent and proper action. At Omdurman, after the victory of Gen. Kitchener, the site of a cemetery was selected by the division staff, and direction was given to dig the graves of the dead close to one another. This was done, and crosses were

erected regimentally. Subsequently a wall was built around the cemetery under divisional arrangements, but all crosses were put up by the regiments themselves. A proposition has been made, but not yet carried into effect, to erect plain cast-iron gravestones with the name and regiment of every man cast thereon in relief. In the Soudan, which is a Mohammedan country, the objection to cross-markers is that the inhabitants would pull them up and destroy them from religious motives. On the contrary, it was aptly suggested by Gen. Lawton that all the headboards placed at the graves of our fallen soldiers in Cuba be marked with a cross, in order to make more certain respectful treatment through the popular reverence for that Christian symbol.

The system prevalent in the German army is to mark the graves with an iron cross, on which is cast in relief the sentence, "Hier ruhen täpfere Krieger"—Here rests a brave warrior. No names are added, except in a few cases, which are doubtless done by private enterprise. I am informed that the crosses are put up by patriotic societies called "Kriegerverein"—Soldier Societies, and not by the Imperial Government.

Thus it appears that in the armies of Great Britain and Germany, at least, the interment and making the graves of the dead are not governed by any definite regulations, but are left to regimental or private enterprise. In this respect we are not behind, but rather in advance of these nations. The direction of the President in his general order of August 6, 1898, and the prompt action of the Secretary of War on the same day in personally instructing, and on the following day issuing an order to a detached army officer to make preliminary investigations, which was followed up by sending a special agent with competent aids to locate and plainly mark every grave, show

an official interest in this matter and a degree of sympathy not surpassed, and, indeed, not equalled, by other governments. This fact, however, should not encourage content with our unorganized condition, but rather should incite us at once to take the lead of sister nations in abandoning hap-hazard ways and in adopting regulated methods.

As matters now stand the Quartermaster is responsible for the interment of the dead. It is his duty on due information given by the officers of the line or medical staff, to assume the functions of an undertaker in civil life, and see that the deceased is decently buried. With troops in quarters this plan works well enough. But it has been shown how the plan breaks down in the face of such conditions as the Fifth Army Corps had to meet in Cuba. Practically, on the battlefield the work of burying the dead was attended to by line officers with their burial details. In the field hospitals, as for example, that of the First Division on the bank of the Aguadores under charge of Major Surgeon Wood, interments were necessarily made by an overworked and inadequate hospital corps. The same was true of the hospitals in the field after the surrender, as, for example, at the General Field Hospital near the Reina Mercedes quarters, where the hospital stewards, under direction of the Medical Department, attended to burials, which were all made without coffins on account of the difficulty of reaching a Quartermaster.

No one was officially responsible for marking the graves of the dead at any time or in any place. This important duty was left to the voluntary impulses of the burial party, or of the hospital workers, or to the good will of comrades personally interested in the dead, who chanced to learn where the dead were buried before it was too late to identify the grave. As a

consequence, a large number of our gallant dead on the fields before Santiago were laid in unmarked graves and are classed among the unknown. How many of these there are can only be conjectured. But the author's estimate is that from one-tenth to one-fifteenth of the whole number have not been and cannot be positively identified. This fact is certainly a reproach to our military government, and its recurrence should be made impossible by the adoption of some adequate system.

It has been suggested that this duty be assigned to chaplains. The suggestion is worthy consideration, and these officers would willingly undertake the duty, and would certainly do it well if their presence in the hour of necessity could be made certain. During the Civil War such kindly offices, and many others relating to the dying and the dead, were attended to by regimental chaplains, to whom they were left by a general consensus of all departments of the military service. There is a difficulty in the way which must be considered. In our regular army, as now constituted, chaplains are substantially post officers. They are not attached to regiments and battalions. It is true that some regular army chaplains were detailed for duty with various regiments during the Spanish-American campaign, and did most effective, satisfactory and self-denying service. But our army has not yet reached a stage which gives warrant that chaplains will always be on hand to direct the mournful but necessary duties due the dead. If this difficulty could be removed, I would have no hesitation in saying that all that relates to the burial and identification of deceased soldiers should be committed to the hands of the chaplain, and his work be so organized, and his authority so detailed and fortified that he would be supported in the discharge of these duties, as are other staff officers in their respective spheres.

If chaplains are not to be considered as practicable factors in the situation, the duty of securing positive identification of all the dead in battle or in hospital should be entrusted to the Medical Department. To this end some non-commissioned officer of the Hospital Corps should be detailed for this special service, and should be so adequately supported that he would be able to discharge his duties efficiently. The reasons are plain enough. No section of an army ever moves without the presence of a surgeon and a detail of hospital workers. Soldiers are supposed to be able to dispense with chaplains. But no one fancies that they can get on without quartermasters, commissaries and surgeons. The Hospital Corps is therefore always at hand. Moreover, a large proportion of deaths occur in hospitals and under the eyes of the hospital corps. This is true even on the battlefield, where, as a rule, those who die from mortal wounds are in excess of those killed in action. Of course, in the case of those who die from camp diseases (and these far exceed the number of killed and mortally wounded), the surgeons and the hospital corps have ample opportunity to know the names and regimental connections of the deceased. Indeed, it is part of their duty to make such record as soon as a sick man is placed under their care.

As has already been shown, necessity actually compels the Medical Department to take charge of burials in many cases. Such at least was true of the Fifth Army Corps in Santiago de Cuba. All things considered, therefore, it would seem most practical to entrust this duty to the Medical Department, and to make the chief surgeon responsible for carrying it out in such a way as shall meet the approbation of the Government, and satisfy the natural affections and demands of friends of the dead.

A valuable item in this service is a convenient marker to be used by burial parties. A review of our soldiers' methods of marking their comrades' graves, as fully presented in this book, is most interesting and, indeed, touching. But it certainly must raise the suggestion that in many cases they are most inadequate. An inscription penciled upon the hewn surface of an adjoining tree, or scratched upon a shaved stake, or cut on a cross rudely made from a cracker or ammunition box, may be picturesque, but it has the disadvantage of being unsubstantial and unreliable. The identification of our heroes' bodies should be placed beyond the contingency of such makeshifts. I have proposed in a report to the War Department that a simple and portable metallic marker be provided, which can be attached to the body of the dead and placed upon the grave, thus giving double security for identification. A model of this marker was submitted; of course, as a suggestion of what might be prepared in the Department by persons more familiar with the requirements of the situation. The marker consists of a strip of metal (Fig. 158) of which the lower part is to be folded up against the inner surface of the upper part. The upper piece has two narrow projecting edges, which are also folded against the inner surface. Thus is formed a receptacle

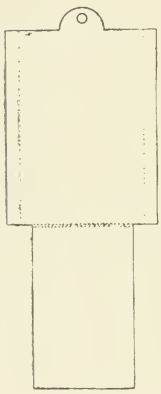


Fig. 158
Plan of tablet to mark soldiers' graves.

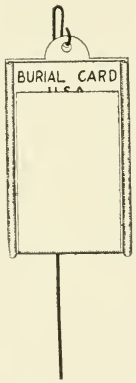


Fig. 159
Grave marker folded and filled.

for a card which is slipped in between the bent edges of the upper piece and the inner surface of the raised lower piece. Accompanying the marker is a printed card on which are left on one face blanks to receive the name, company and date of death of the deceased, and on the reverse memoranda, with one or more names of burial party. A projection from the upper part of this metallic folder is pierced with a hole which permits it to be hung upon a copper rod to be thrust into the grave, when it will present the form of Fig. 159. A large number of markers of this kind can be carried upon the persons of two or three hospital workers. The cards can readily be filled up with a pencil and will be protected from weather changes, and if placed in the clothing of the dead within a reasonable time would be decipherable. A marker of this sort which could be placed at the head of a mound would remain for a considerable length of time without being disturbed or defaced. At all events, long enough to permit identification when greater leisure will permit.

Fig. 160
Burial card.

Fig. 161
Reverse of same.

The author's sense of justice to our soldiers will not be satisfied without reference to another matter closely related to the above. That those who fell upon the field of battle should have been buried without coffins, even of the rudest sort, was an ordinary and necessary result of war. That some of those who died in the hospitals should have been buried in the same way was perhaps also inevitable. But it should have been made possible that those who died in the hospitals a month or more after the fighting had ceased, could be buried in the ordinary way of civilized

men. Yet with the exception of those who died at the Nautical Hospital, established in the Boat Club-house on the edge of the harbor, all our dead, everywhere around Santiago, up to the middle of September, were buried in the clothes in which they died, wrapped about in only a sheet or a blanket. During the same period many of the people of Santiago were burying their dead in coffins, and only the humblest poor and those who were carried in the dead cart from the Civil Hospital, were buried uncoffined or were burned.

Admitting that circumstances justified such facts, and that they are to be excused on the ground that no provision had been made by Congress or other authority, it will certainly commend itself to the war administration that arrangements should at once be made by which no such conditions shall obtain in the future, in peace or in war, in our new possessions or elsewhere. Capt. Gonzales, of the Quartermaster's Department at Santiago (and possibly also his predecessor, though I do not know that), when applied to by the authorities of the Nautical Hospital furnished coffins for burial, as was his duty. No doubt he would have done the same for the authorities of the field hospitals established just outside the city. But apparently there was no one whose duty it was to attend to this matter, and, therefore, it was neglected. It seems a gruesome thing to suggest or to arrange for, and yet as sickness and death are inevitable, and burial must follow death, there is no reason why the same foresight that provides for other contingencies, should not also provide for this, and the Quartermaster's Department of the Government be directed to prepare and distribute sectional parts of coffins or burial boxes that can easily and quickly be put together. Regard for the feelings of the friends of soldiers and the respect which is commonly accorded the dead should lead to some such provision.

Chapter X

Our Cuban Allies

O WILD is the spot, Macaura,
In which they have laid thee low—
The field where thy people triumphed
Over a slaughtered foe;
And loud was the banshee's wailing,
And deep was the clansmen's sorrow,
When with bloody hands and burning tears,
They buried thee here, Macaura.

Farewell to thy grave, Macaura,
Where the slanting sunbeams shine,
And the briar and waving fern
Over thy slumbers twine;
Thou whose gathering summons
Could waken the sleeping glen;
Macaura, alas, for thee and thine,
'Twill never be heard again.

—Mary Downing.

Our Cuban Allies

IT seemed just that the Cuban soldiers who had fallen in battle during the period subsequent to the American invasion, should receive from our Government some token of its appreciation of their service as allies. That the graves of such should be marked appeared the least that we could do. In the little cemetery at Guantanamo Bay, in which are buried the marines who fell during our first fight on Cuban soil, is the grave of one Cuban soldier killed in that engagement. He lies near the grave of Chief Yeoman Ellis, killed July 3d on the Brooklyn. Two other Cuban soldiers who died subsequently, are also buried there. These graves are all unmarked. This is so sharply in contrast with the graves of the Americans, that I ventured to speak of it to Col. Enriquez Thomas, the Commander of the Cuban battalion, then encamped on the beach. He shrugged his shoulders and spoke of poverty. I insisted that it would be a slight thing to prepare some simple marker showing the name, date and place of death of each of the Cuban heroes.

A story told me by Lieut. Wise, of the 9th U. S. Infantry, deepened my interest in this subject. He said that as their regiment was deploying into the San Juan plain, previous to their charge upon the ridge, they came in contact near the "Bloody Bend" with a barbed wire entanglement which greatly embarrassed them. Suddenly there appeared on the scene a

gigantic negro, a Cuban soldier. No one knew whence he came. He drew his machete, and heaved its blade against the wire with such vigor that it parted as though it had been cheese. Again and again fell the blade until an opening had been made in the entanglement, through which the Americans deployed into the field. Then came the rush, in which the Cuban giant led, over the plain, up the hill, in the van of the American line, to the very crest, where he fell instantly killed by a Spanish bullet. What became of the body of this hero in ebony my informant did not know. He disappeared as he had come, unknown, unheralded. Perhaps he was buried as a supposed Spaniard in the trenches with the Spanish soldiers whom he so cordially hated. Perhaps his is one of the unmarked graves on the high slope of San Juan's historic ridge. The speculation came to mind as I looked on these "unknown" graves, and I greatly wished to solve the query. At all events, the story and my reflections thereon revived the wish to erect some memorial mark at the graves of those of our allies who died heroic deaths.

At Caney I asked the Cuban local guide about graves of his soldier countrymen. He knew of only two. On the western side of the town, perhaps a half mile from the fort, he led us to a place near the crossing of two trails, which seemed simply a clump of rank wild shrubbery. The guide found the exact spot with difficulty, and when at last it was located, he pushed aside the dense growth, higher than our heads, and showed us a yellow patch of fresh earth. It was not even a mound, simply an irregular bit of mother earth that showed signs of late disturbance. Beneath that patch of yellow clay slept the remains of a Cuban officer, Lieut. Nicolas Franco, who fell in the battle of Caney while fighting side by side with

the Americans for the capture of the fort on El Viso Height. I gave his name and the locality to Mr. Rhodes, in charge of the work of designating soldiers' graves, and asked that this spot be marked as reverently as if it were the grave of an American soldier.*

I was sufficiently interested in this subject to make it the occasion of a visit, September 10th, 1898, to Gen. Castillo at his headquarters on the San Luis Railway, at Boniato. He promised to interest himself personally in the affair, and believed that many of the Cuban dead could be identified. The reports of deaths, he said, were accurately kept, but there would be difficulty in exact identification of graves, as no marking system obtained, and their army sentiment did not enforce a voluntary substitute as with us. He informed me that *since the American invasion* there had been lost in battle in his own brigade sixty-seven killed and wounded, of whom twenty-two were killed outright and four of the wounded subsequently died. Cuban soldiers, he said, had been lost in engagements at Guantanamo, Guasimas, at El Pozo, Caney, La Caridad in Gen. Sanches' brigade, and at Marianajo. One man was wounded at Daiquiri, and taken on board the *Olivette*, where his arm was amputated.

I showed Gen. Castillo a rough plan of the fight at Las Guasimas, and asked him to locate thereon the graves of the Cuban soldiers, which he did. The spot is to the right of the eastern or valley road as one approaches from Siboney, south of the spot where are buried seven soldiers of the First Regular Cavalry and one of the Tenth Cavalry. (See Map, Chap. VII, Fig. 97.) I asked the editor of the *Porvenir*, a local Santiago Cuban journal, to call his countrymen's attention to this subject and request their co-operation in identifying the burial places of

* Mr. Rhodes has informed that this has been done.

FIG. 162

The grave of the Cuban Lieutenant, Nicolas Franco, on the battlefield of Caney.

their heroic compatriots. This he did in an article entitled "Tombs of Martyrs," calling for information, and promising to transmit me any facts received. I have heard nothing from this appeal, but venture to hope that the measure therein suggested may yet be carried out.

Among Cubans who fell during the brief American campaign should be recorded those who were killed at El Pozo, and whose bodies may be interred in one of the large graves or trenches near that point in the cemetery of the General Field Hospital. When Grimes' battery was ordered to occupy this height to shell San Juan Ridge, a body of Cuban Infantry, along with the Rough Riders and other American troops, were directed to occupy a position in the rear; for what reason is not apparent, as they could hardly have been regarded under the circumstances as supports of the battery, there being no enemy near by likely to launch a charge upon the guns. The answering shells of the Spanish batteries on San Juan Height, which were evidently aimed to dismount the American guns, unfortunately fell among the Cubans, killing and wounding a large number. Surely these, as well as the American soldiers who suffered by the same missiles, are to be reckoned among the casualties of that important day. From this standpoint, if from no other, it appears that the blood of the Cuban soldiers was mingled with that of their American allies upon the victorious field of San Juan, as it had been at the initial fighting at Guantanamo, at the storming of Caney and in the reconnaissance which preceded the battle of Las Guasimas.

There can be no doubt that an immense reaction occurred in the feeling of American soldiers towards Cubans after the engagements of July 1st, 1898. Our soldiers left America with their hats and coats covered with Cuban flags and Cuban

rosettes ; but when they returned, the Cuban colors were rarely seen. On the contrary, some of the victors had mounted Spanish rosettes. A fraternization had occurred between the American and Spanish soldiers, and in the degree that this increased in warmth the feelings of Americans cooled toward the Cubans. The reason for this, as stated to me on every hand by soldiers and officers of the Fifth Army Corps, was the firm belief that the Cubans had taken no part in supporting the American armies, and on the contrary, had ignominiously looted their baggage and supplies even while fighting for Cuba's freedom. These charges were so universal and made with such manifest sincerity that it was impossible to reject them wholly. At least it was necessary to suppose some plausible ground for their existence. The explanation made by the friends of Cubans was that the plundering had been done by pacificos, the starved and destitute reconcentrados, who inhabited the farms and hamlets in the vicinity of the city. It was alleged that as the Cuban soldiers had no uniform, and could not be distinguished by their dress from non-combatants, the mistake was one most natural to be made.

I took occasion of the call on General Castillo in Boniato frankly to state the facts and ask an explanation. My question was answered with the utmost candor. The General did not deny the change of feeling among Americans. He said substantially that, however much he regretted it, he must allow that it was a natural mistake for the Americans to make under the peculiar circumstances. He denied the allegation with the utmost emphasis, and declared that none of his soldiers had engaged in looting the baggage or other properties of the Americans. His explanation of the origin of the rumor which had grown into such grave proportions was as follows :

The American army was sufficiently embarrassed by scant facilities for transportation. But it had trains of pack mules, and some army wagons and ambulances, which measurably met the necessities of the situation. The Cuban army, on the contrary, was wholly destitute of transportation. Wagons they had none. Their horses had disappeared, destroyed or captured by the Spaniards and lost in battle, and perhaps in some cases killed and eaten. It therefore became necessary to organize a transportation train out of his men. This was done. Squads of soldiers under proper officers were sent from their camp, several miles away, to the seashore at Siboney, where the supplies were to be obtained from the American Commissaries. Boxes and bales and packages were placed upon the shoulders and backs of these men, and carried by the mountain trails and along the muddy roads through the tangled shrubbery across swollen streams to the place of operations. The ammunition required for the Cuban troops was deported in the same way. The Americans saw these lines of Cuban carriers going to and fro, and jumped to the conclusion that they had stolen and were carrying away American property. The rumor passed from mouth to mouth, and grew until the whole army was pervaded with it. It was a most unfortunate circumstance, and the results had been extremely unhappy, and indeed, threatened for a time to involve the American nation in a conflict as bitter and as bloody as the war with Spain. I received a striking confirmation of this from a half-tone reproduction of a photograph of just such a scene as described to me by General Castillo. One may therein see a squad of Cuban soldiers openly carrying boxes and bundles which bear the earmarks of the American commissary and ordnance departments.

Concerning the other explanation of the prejudice formed

among American soldiers against their Cuban allies, namely, that they did nothing to support the Fifth Corps during its campaign, it is enough to refer to the extended report of Major-General Nelson A. Miles, the commanding general of the United States Army. He recites at length his interview with Gen. Garcia and the arrangements made for the support of Gen. Shafter's troops during the invasion. He calls attention to the fact that Gen. Garcia regarded his request for supports as orders, and promptly took steps to execute the plan of operation. He sent 3000 men to check any movement of the 12,000 Spaniards stationed at Holguin. A portion of this latter force started to the relief of the garrison at Santiago, but was successfully checked and turned back by the Cuban forces under Gen. Feria. He also sent 2000 men under Perez to oppose the 6600 Spaniards at Guantanamo, and they were successful in their object. He also sent 1000 men under Gen. Rios against the 6000 men at Manzanillo. Of that garrison, 3500 started to reinforce the garrison at Santiago, and were engaged in no less than thirty combats with the Cubans before reaching Santiago, and would have been stopped had Gen. Garcia's request of June 27th been granted. What that request was Gen. Miles does not state, and the writer is not able to give the information. But at all events, Gen. Garcia is exonerated from blame for the unfortunate results. With an additional force of 5000 men, Gen. Miles continues, Gen. Garcia besieged the garrison of Santiago, taking up a strong position on the west side and in close proximity to the harbor. He had troops in the rear as well as on both sides of the garrison at Santiago before the arrival of the Americans. Could anything be more explicit than this statement issued with the authority of the General in command of the American army? Could any statement more

thoroughly exempt the Cuban army from the unjust, unfair and untruthful statements that found currency among American soldiers?

This is not all of the case. Gen. Miles, in reciting the account of the surrender of the Spanish troops by Gen. Toral, explains what has seemed a strange circumstance to many persons. The Spanish commander surrendered all the troops in the department of Santiago de Cuba, many of whom were from seventy to one hundred miles distant, and against whom not a shot had been fired. What was the inducement to this act? The report of Gen. Miles gives a satisfactory answer. Referring, as he apparently does, to the conclusion of Gen. Toral, he says: "The activity of the Cuban troops and their disposition had been such as to render the Spanish positions exceedingly perilous." This is the testimony of the enemies of the Cuban soldiers, and it is most honorable to the activity, the courage and the resourceful tact and strategy of Gen. Garcia and his army. In other words, it was manifest that the Spanish commander, with a laudable regard for his men, surrendered the troops of the entire department to the Americans, having gained by hard experience a wholesome respect for the military capacity of the Cubans, and a genuine fear that the prowess of their army alone would in the end accomplish the defeat of the Spaniards outside of Santiago. He preferred that all the troops under his control should be surrendered to the Americans and share the benefit of repatriation, rather than be left to the risk of defeat, capture or destruction by the insurgent Cubans.

The above testimony, conclusive as it is, does not complete the plea in behalf of the Cuban soldiers. Lieut. José Müller, second in command of the naval forces of the Province of Santiago de Cuba, wrote an account of the battles and capitu-

lation of Santiago, which has been translated from the Spanish by the Office of Naval Intelligence in the United States Naval Department. He pays both directly and indirectly a striking tribute to the valor and efficiency of the Cuban soldiers. In summing up the total casualties of the Spanish troops, and giving a general statement of the engagements of July 1st, he makes this remark:

"From the foregoing, it is reasonable to believe that when five hundred and twenty men maintained themselves at El Caney for ten hours, and two hundred and fifty at San Juan for four hours, if Escario could have been there that day, so that there had been three thousand men more in our lines, neither El Caney nor San Juan would have been lost, though attacked by almost the whole hostile army."

And why did not Escario's column enter Santiago in time? It was delayed by our Cuban allies! The statement of the number of men who defended the San Juan Ridge is not in accordance with the facts, although it may truly represent the number behind the San Juan Hill at the original formation of the Spanish line. Nevertheless, the judgment of this Spanish officer as to the value to Americans of the Cuban contingent that kept back Gen. Escario's reinforcing column is very clearly and strongly set forth.

This opinion is justified by Chapter XXX of Lieut. Müller's account, which gives the history of the march of Escario's column from Manzanillo to Santiago. The entire diary of the operations of this forced march is given by the author. The commander, Col. Federico Escario, set out on the 22d of June with an army numbering three thousand seven hundred and fifty-two men, composed of infantry, cavalrymen, sappers and engineers, a section of a battery, and a number of medical

officers destined for the Santiago hospitals. There was also a transportation train, with a large amount of extra rations and fifty beasts of burden. The trail over which the column marched, like those which have been described in connection with the movements of our own army, was scarcely more than a mountain track, over which the men were compelled to march in single or double file. The high weeds had to be cut down at many places, and from the time the troops passed through Don Pedro plain and arrived at the ford of the Yarro River until the arrival at Santiago, they were assailed every day, and sometimes more than once a day, by our Cuban allies. The latter were much out-matched as to numbers, Gen. Rios having only about one thousand men, and, of course, in the matter of equipment and military discipline, the superiority of the Spaniards was more manifest. It would be needless, even did the purpose of this work justify, to give a full account of this march, which is equally creditable to both of the opposing forces. But a few extracts from the diary will sufficiently indicate the facts.

"June 23d. The column had been harassed all day, especially while preparing to occupy the camp, when the enemy opened a steady fire which lasted ten minutes, killing one of our men and wounding three. * * * 24th. The column rising at reveille, and after drinking coffee, was again formed and organized by six o'clock, when it continued its march, sustaining slight skirmishes in which it had one man killed and one wounded. The column encamped on the banks of the Canabacoa River. * * * 25th. The same as yesterday. The column was harassed all day, always repulsing and dispersing the enemy. One man was killed during the skirmishes."

June 26th. The entry of this day gives an account of the

occupation of the city of Bayamo and the engagement at that place. It thus closes: "Our forces then returned to the camp at Almirante. The result of that day's work was not known at first, but it was afterwards known that the enemy had nineteen casualties, ten killed and nine wounded. * * * June 27th. The enemy, in greater number than on the preceding day and in control of the heights which overlook the ford of the Jiguani River, tried to prevent Escario's forces from crossing. But their intention was foiled by flank attacks protected by artillery fire. After the river had been forded, the march was continued without interruption to Cruz del Yarey where the rebels appeared again, offering less resistance and were defeated once more. They seemed inclined, however, to continue to impede the march, which was apparent upon the arrival of our column upon the ruins of what was formerly the town of Baire. They were waiting there, and as soon as they espied the column, opened a galling musket fire which was silenced by the rapid advance of our vanguard. In this encounter Col. Manuel Ruiz, second in command of the column, was wounded, and his horse killed under him. Four soldiers were killed and five wounded."

On the 29th, owing to the exhaustion of the troops, the column was compelled to encamp for the day. "It was so ordered," writes the chronicler, "owing to fatigue; but the enemy kept harassing us and we had three more wounded." * * * On the 30th, before the column was deployed, the Cubans from entrenched positions opened fire, which was answered and silenced by the first forces leaving the camp. The commander foresaw that such an attack would be repeated, and in order to obviate casualties, changed the route and thus "eluding the ambuscade" arrived at the slopes of Ooncella, the ford of which was reached by a narrow pass and difficult

ravine. It appears, however, that the enemy was not wholly eluded by this flank movement, for the chronicler records that "the rebels occupied positions here." When the column had been reconcentrated after fording the Ooncella, they prepared to ford the Contramaestre River, where the Cubans were in waiting, which fact they had announced themselves by written challenges and threats that they had left along the road. The Spanish vanguard, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Barbon since the wounding of Col. Ruiz, advanced to clear the way through the narrow valley of the Contramaestre and to scale the steep and tortuous ascent of the opposite bank. Says the chronicler, "The enemy had told the truth. They were in large numbers occupying those favorable positions which would have been impregnable if they had been held by any one who knew how to defend them." With a good deal of rodomontade, in a style which Americans characterize as "spread-eagleism" the writer tells how the Spanish column captured this position, and found the Cubans in large numbers on the extensive pastures beyond the Contramaestre. He writes "The enemy tried to check our advance by a galling fire from the slope of a mountain where they were intrenched, controlling a line of twelve hundred metres, through which it was necessary for us to pass unprotected." The Cubans were compelled to abandon their trenches, but the diary records that "in the fierce battles of that day Captain Ramiro, of the Alcantara Battalion, and nine privates were wounded and five killed." So ended the month of June.

At daybreak of July 1st, Escario's column resumed the march and reached the ford of Guariano River, where the Cubans held advantageous positions from which the Spanish vanguard routed them without much resistance. The river was

crossed after two ambuscades. Then followed insignificant skirmishes with outposts. At Aguacate Hill, the station of the Spanish heliograph, the Cubans were met in force. This is the record which the chronicler makes of that engagement: "Our soldiers manœuvred as though on drill, and advancing steadily two-thirds of the column entered the battle, and that hail of lead which strewed death in its path was not sufficient to make them retreat or even check them. Calmly, with fearless heroism, they advanced, protected by the frequent and short fire of the artillery, and, skillfully guided by their chiefs, and with the cry 'Long live Spain,' charging with bayonets, they simultaneously took those heights which were so difficult and dangerous to scale, beating the enemy into precipitate retreat, so that they could not gather up their dead and wounded. Seventeen dead were left on the field, also ammunition of various modern types. There were moments during that battle when the tenacity of the enemy and the order with which they fought gave the impression that they might belong to our own column. To do the enemy justice it must be stated that they defended these positions with persistency and good order, and that they rose to unusual heights that day, making this the fiercest battle which we sustained on the march from Manzanillo to Santiago, and one of the most remarkable of the present campaign. Our casualties were seven dead and one lieutenant and forty-two privates wounded. Large pools of blood on the battlefield showed the severe chastisement which the enemy had suffered at our hands." When the column had been reorganized the march was continued to Arraro Blanco, where the night was spent.

The next day, July 2d, the column proceeded to Palma Soriano, fighting the enemy all along the road, on both sides

of which the latter occupied good positions and endeavored to detain the column at any price. At 3 p. m. the Spaniards reached Palma Soriano with a loss from the battle of that day of four dead and six wounded. From this point a message was sent to San Luis by heliograph, announcing Escario's arrival to the Commander-in-chief of the Fourth Spanish Army Corps at Santiago, from whom a reply was received that the United States forces were surrounding a part of the city and urging a forced march. At two o'clock in the night reveille was sounded and Escario's column resumed its march, delayed only by slight skirmishes. The advance guard reached the pass of Bayamo, where they had the first view of the city of Santiago, and learned that the Spanish fleet "had gone out in search of death, the fate reserved for heroes."

Between 10 and 11 a. m. of July 3d, Col. Escario, hearing the intense cannonading in the direction of the city organized a flying column, composed of the strongest men of each company, the entire cavalrymen and two artillery pieces, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Barbon. The cavalry vanguard of this flying column arrived in Santiago at 3 p. m., and the rest of the column reached the city at 4.30. The nucleus of the column with the accompanying train did not arrive until 9 and 10 o'clock at night. The diary thus concludes: "At 10 o'clock the last rear guard entered the city of Santiago de Cuba and the battalions at once repaired to the different trenches assigned to them by the Chief of Staff, and from that time on they formed part of the forces defending the city. The casualties during the whole march were one colonel, two officers and sixty-eight privates wounded, and twenty-seven killed. Twenty-eight thousand six hundred and seventy Mauser cartridges had been used and thirty-eight guns of artillery fired.

In view of such a record as this, taken from an official report of the Spaniards, whose estimate of and ill-feeling toward Cubans is well understood, it is no longer tenable to say or to think that the aid of our Cuban allies was of inconsiderable value to the Americans during the siege and capture of Santiago. It is, of course, possible, and, indeed, probable, that we might have succeeded without such aid; but any one who has thoroughly studied the situation, and especially the condition of our army during the first two days of July, must agree with the opinion of Lieut. Müller that had Escario's column reached Santiago in time to reinforce the Spanish lines, they would not have been captured by the Americans at that time. Our army would have been compelled to abandon the situation, and retire to the seaside to await reinforcements of men, provisions and munitions of war. If, after the victory of July 1st, it became a serious problem whether it would be advisable to fall back, what would have been the state of affairs had the gallant army of Escario on that day been behind the San Juan entrenchments? In the end, no doubt, our army would have won, but at what a fearful cost! In the engagements of July 1st we lost one-eighth of the Fifth Army Corps in killed and wounded. With the Spanish regular forces nearly doubled by the arrival of Escario, one may easily conjecture how vastly this mournful loss would have been increased.

In view of the facts, the impartial historian must declare that the American army is under an obligation to the Cuban column which resisted Gen. Escario's advance, too great to be expressed in words. Our warmest thanks and our most substantial appreciation are due to these men for this efficient co-operation, which proved so costly to themselves as well as to the enemy whom they opposed.

Chapter XI

Santiago in War Time

HIS few surviving comrades saw
His smile when rang their proud hurrah
And the red field was won ;
Then saw in death his eyelids close
Calmly, as to a night's repose,
Like flowers at set of sun.

Come to the bridal chamber, Death,
Come to the mother's, when she feels,
For the first time, her first-born's breath ;
Come when the blessed seals
That close the pestilence are broke,
And crowded cities wail its stroke ;
And thou art terrible ; the tear,
The groan, the knell, the pall, the bier,
And all we know, or dream, or fear
Of agony are thine.

But to the hero, when his sword
Has won the battle for the free,
Thy voice sounds like a prophet's word,
And in its hollow tones are heard
The thanks of millions yet to be.

—Fitz-Greene Halleck.

Santiago in War Time

THE active campaign of the Fifth Army Corps in Cuba lasted twenty-six days. The death-cry of our fallen heroes on the "red field" of July 1st and 2d was answered by the "proud hurrah" of July 3d, which rang around the American trenches when the news came of Sampson's victory over Cervera's fleet. That was the beginning of the end. Two weeks thereafter Toral surrendered to Shafter, and the war for Cuban liberty was over. The Americans obtained possession of Santiago on the 17th of July, 1898. The Stars and Stripes were raised above the Municipal Palace at noon of that day. Before evening the obstructing mines at the harbor's mouth were removed, and the first supplies entered in the *State of Texas*, the relief ship of the Red Cross Society. Then followed Government transports with commissary supplies. Two days after the surrender (July 19th, 1898) the U. S. S. *Resolute* left New York laden with medical supplies of all sorts from the Government Medical Department and from several volunteer societies. My first trip to Cuba was made on this ship, and we arrived off Santiago July 25th.

Relieving Santiago

The brown bastions of the Morro looked calmly down upon us from the gray cliff as we entered the harbor. Not a soldier was on guard. The place was solitary. A flag floated from the summit; a small flag on a low staff, but—it was the

Stars and Stripes! As we passed into the mouth of the now famous "bottle," the yellow crest of the Socapa battery showed its row of black guns on the left. To the right, so close that one might almost touch it, lay the *Reina Mercedes*, keeled over and pierced with shot, the swell of the waves rising and falling over her sloping deck. Beyond this the *Merrimac* lay level upon her keel, nothing showing but the top of her smoke stack and her two masts, the foremast splintered by a shell. In front of us, on a jutting point, was the battery of Punto Gorda, whose guns pointed straight out of the harbor's mouth and commanded the strip of open sea visible between the Morro cliff and the hill Socapa. A vessel steaming by in the offing reminded one of the vigilant watchers of Sampson's fleet as they patrolled the harbor approaches until that eventful July 3d, when the Spanish Admiral broke bounds and rushed to his doom. What excitement must have thrilled the hearts of those gallant Spanish seamen as they stood by their guns and saw their ships plow through these now placid waters toward yonder patch of blue ocean! And what answering fervor throbbed in the veins of our American tars as they saw the black banners of smoke trailing through the opening, and the cry rang along the decks: "To quarters! The Spaniards are coming!"

We had little time for thoughts of those battle days of early July. There was another enemy among the beautiful hills that environ Santiago which we had come to meet. The city lies to the right or east of the pouch-shaped harbor, the red tiles of her roof-tops rising tier on tier to the middle slope on which stands the Cathedral with its triple towers, and still upward to the high ridge crowned with the long buildings of the Spanish General Hospital, the Reina Mercedes barracks and the Civil Hospital. The harbor was dotted with transports

waiting their turn to unload at the quay. On the tableland to the left, nestled against the green hills that swell above them, were the tents of Gen. Ludlow's Brigade of Maj.-Gen. Lawton's Division, which marked the extreme right of our line of circumvallation that stretched away cityward and southward until lost to view in the rolls and knobs of the mountains. In the camps of that conquering army were four thousand men sick with the calentura or Cuban fever, with typhoid, pernicious malaria, and various camp and climatic diseases. And somewhere there, just showing his yellow visage of doom, was that "pestilence that walketh in darkness" and "wasteth at noonday." It was a threatening situation. But help was at hand! The good ship *Resolute* had come loaded with hospital furniture hospital apparel, hospital foods and delicacies, hospital medicines and hospital helpers in the form of physicians and nurses.

Gen. Shafter

Gen. Shafter sat on a cane-seat settee at one end of his reception room in the municipal "palace," as we approached him. A row of three chairs on either side faced one another at right angles to the settee. This is a Spanish mode of receiving, and is a fitting and convenient one. One's first meeting with a notable person is always interesting and usually disappointing. Preconceived notions are quite certain to be wrong in some particulars. The author had expected to meet a man of enormous proportions; but, although there was certainly a goodly girth about the middle, and the lower limbs were stout, the face was not that of an obese man. The cheeks were not "fat," not even full. They were rather thin, and somewhat hollow. It is a strong face that looks down upon or up to you out of eyes that have an anxious and not unkind look. The face is long,

crowned with a capacious brow, surmounted by a plentiful growth of iron-gray hair, parted in the middle, not daintily, but in disorder, as though a hand had been thrust through it in a moment of meditation.

The stories afloat as to Gen. Shafter's brusqueness, even rudeness of manner and profanity of speech were not verified by his reception of our party. Nothing could have been more courteous, even cordial, than his welcome. He greeted us heartily, entered at once upon our business, gave more than an hour to the matter, and showed every attention and extended every aid at his command. No doubt the coming of our ship must have relieved him of an immense burden of anxiety. With the National Relief representatives was Maj. T. O. Summers, the surgeon in charge of the vast stores sent on the *Resolute* by the Medical Department of the army. As compared with these our supplies and those of the National Red Cross Society, abundant as they were, did not seem formidable. However, when it came to distribution, their quality may be judged by the Major's remark: "Your things are the ones the surgeon's ask for first." That was natural, for the factor of "home comforts" went into their selection.

Maj. Havard, the surgeon-in-chief of Gen. Shafter's staff, soon joined our conference. His khaki uniform, soiled almost to blackness, showed the character of the campaign. He had not seen his trunk since the day the expedition landed. Most of the officers were in the same condition, and even changes of underclothing were for weeks impossible. The highest officers had to go without drawers and undershirts while their one suit was being washed. Meanwhile, their baggage was sailing to and fro in the holds of the transports. Dr. Havard is a man of quiet manner, low voice and deliberate speech,

with a slight accent to mark his French descent. He brought in the sick report for the day, and then placed in the commander's hand a letter from Dr. La Garde, the faithful and efficient surgeon in charge of the hospital at Siboney, which included the special hospital for yellow fever cases. "We want cots"—so the letter ran.

"I have them!" exclaimed Maj. Summers, "1500 of them."

"We want hospital tents"—"I have them, too, 600 of them!" again the surgeon interrupted.

"We want medicines of every sort; our supply is almost exhausted."

"I have everything—plenty!" cried the Major.

"We want hospital furniture and apparel, night-shirts, pajamas, delicacies, something for our convalescents!" Now came in our turn: "We have them here!" was the answering chorus.

"Moreover," the letter continued, "our surgeons are nearly worn out; three are sick. We need fifteen doctors and at least fifty nurses."

"What can you do in that line?" asked Gen. Shafter, looking up from the notes in his hand, with a shade of anxiety on his countenance. Evidently he was not prepared for a favorable answer.

Dr. Summers took a sheet from a bundle of documents; silently counted up a list of names and answered: "We have eleven competent physicians, all experienced in the treatment of yellow fever, and fifty-five immune nurses, of whom ten are women."

Is it any wonder that, in the pause which ensued, one of our party expressed the opinion that the answer had come to Dr. La Garde's appeal, both in time and detail, as though

directly sent by Divine Providence. Gen. Shafter, with a startled expression in his eyes, gazed for a moment on the speaker, silently nodded his head, and with a muttered word of assent turned again to his papers.

The *Resolute* was given the right of way in landing its cargo on the quay already piled high with commissary and quartermaster stores. But before the unloading began the authorities decided to send the first relief to the hospital at Siboney, where the distress and need were greatest. An errant order, added to the lack of lighterage, compelled the transfer of materials from the *Resolute* to a waiting transport, and these, with surgeons and nurses, were sent to Siboney. The same difficulty presented in getting freight and people ashore that faced the Fifth Corps when it landed. But before the day closed a portion of the cargo was landed through the surf at Siboney, and the work of relieving our suffering soldiers had begun. The next day the new doctors and nurses were at work, and glints of hope began to lighten up the dark situation. "Oh!" said one of the patients, with a grateful look, "if you folks had only come sooner, lots of our boys might have been saved!" And why didn't we "come sooner?"

The hospital supplies brought in the *Resolute* began to be lightered on Wednesday, July 27th. By Thursday and Friday the surgeons had got word of the rescue and were thronging the wharf with their requests and requisitions. The requests made to the National Relief Commission were at once granted without formality. With wise humanity the surgeon in charge of Government stores dispensed with red tape, and the needed remedies and restoratives began slowly trickling campward. Slowly it must be.

We longed for the wings of genii to waft these healing things to the hospitals within the hills. But the scantiness of transportation was one of the chief difficulties. The one road and its several trails, badly cut up and washed by the incessant rains, were muddy and in spots almost impassable. Yet, ere long, mule teams, pack trains, ambulances and gun caissons were in motion, bearing their blessed and blessing relief to our sick heroes. I have often had occasion to eulogize the army mule. But I never blessed his sturdy back and muscular legs more heartily than when I saw him climbing the steeps of Santiago's hills, packing and pulling the hospital stores of the Government and the goods of the Relief Commission.

Ere I turned my face in the late afternoon from the tent of Gen. Wallace Randolph, of the artillery, I saw the fair white hospital tents arise within his cantonment, and Dr. Keiffer, with his caisson train, bringing up cots and boxes. I had met him in the morning on the dock, and saw the naked skin of his body showing through a rent in his blouse. He had taken off his one shirt to have it washed, but hearing that medical supplies had arrived, he "stood not upon the order of his going," but mounted a mule and hurried off to Santiago, to get something for his sick men. As I rode away, pleasant visions arose of transformed hospitals and wan faces brightened with hope of restored health through the incoming help.

The special purpose of my first visit to Santiago was to inspect the camp hospitals and see the real condition and wants of the sick. One hesitates to give the facts. Indeed, it is impossible to tell all the truth; for none but the sufferers themselves can know the trials of sickness under such conditions. The hospital tents were few, and makeshifts of divers sorts had been tried to piece out the precious space. Unhappily, they

could not succeed, and the sick were crowded within inadequate quarters. In all that army of occupation I had seen, as late as July 30th, only one sick soldier on a cot! Most of the men lay upon the ground with their rubber clothes or poncho and blankets, and sometimes only the latter, beneath them. The daily torrential rains had saturated the earth, which was continuously damp. The torrid sun had set it steaming, but had not dried it.

The prevalent disease was the climatic malarial fever, with some cases of camp dysentery and typhoid. On the preceding day the health report, as read to us by Gen. Shafter from his official notes, was as follows: Sick soldiers, 4122; total fever cases, 3195; new cases, 822; returned to duty, 542; net increase, 290. If we estimate the expeditionary army of Santiago at 18,000 we see that more than one-fifth were carried on the sick report, and that sickness was rapidly increasing. It is a serious state of affairs when 822 new cases of sickness are reported in one day. Moreover, of those returned to duty many were unfit to go. But there was no place for them. They ought to have remained for convalescence, to be nourished into vigor. But their room on the ground was needed by comrades worse off than themselves, and they must "move on." Many of them would soon be sent back to hospital, and of not a few it is to be feared their last estate was worse than their first.

What were the facilities for treating these sick heroes? The ordinary conveniences of field hospitals did not exist anywhere around Santiago up to the close of July. The most important medicines were nearly exhausted. The commonest remedies were lacking. The little corner that represented the dispensary was a caricature. The heroic surgeons and their

helpers themselves sick, half sick or sickening, were engaged in the forlorn work of curing men without medicine and restoring strength without nourishment.

Were these men also without food? No; they had salt pork, hard tack, beans and black coffee. What "luxuries" these must have been to fever patients with their fastidious appetites and stomachs already clogged with coarse army rations, may be imagined. The delicacies that ill people crave and need were unattainable for the great majority of these sufferers, and for few or none could adequate diet be had.

Moreover, these invalid soldiers, and in most cases the officers fared no better, had no change of apparel. They lay as they came, in their heavy woolen trousers, shirts and drawers, stained by weeks of campaigning on the muddy roads and wet trenches, and soiled by the necessities of their ailments. Their mates, with rude kindness, sought to clean them up a bit, but the pitiful inadequacy of their well-meant efforts was shown by the swarms of flies that settled here and there upon faces and hands and stained garments.

Santiago's Distress

The situation in Santiago immediately after the surrender, and, indeed, for some time subsequent thereto, might have appalled the stoutest heart. The Fifth Army Corps was in a deplorable condition physically, and over the camps there hung the rarely expressed but potent dread of an impending calamity through the presence of yellow fever. Nothing but the prospect of a battle could have revived even for a little while the heavy spirits and the enfeebled frames of the American soldiers. The strain and fervor and drain of a decade had been compressed within the six weeks' campaign. "Their work done, why should they lie there under a torrid sun and torrential rains, burning by day and shivering

by night, only to give fuel to the pest and food to the buzzards and land crabs?" So the men queried within themselves.

Then came the "round robin" of the chief commanders, and soon the order from army headquarters for the men to come home. It is a mistake to suppose that the round robin originated and compelled that order, which is the popular belief. It may have hastened it; but when I rode through the camps of the Fifth Army Corps in the last week of July, time and again I stopped in the midst of the groups of soldiers to cheer them with the assurance that the Government intended to send them home as soon as possible. This word of hope (for it certainly was one), I was permitted to speak on the authority of statements made to me by the President and the Secretary of War, while in Washington shortly before my departure for Santiago on July 19th, two days after the surrender. I have heard some of the men speak of the exhilarating influence which my statement at that time exerted among them. The good news gave them heart to bear their privations inspired by the hope of an early return home.

When I entered Santiago the second time, on the 15th of August, the work of deporting the army had begun. The troop ships were daily loading and departing, and the harbor rang with the cheers of the soldiers on shipboard and of those who crowded the quay awaiting their turn to go. The only sad faces and desponding spirits were those of soldiers in the hospitals and in the convalescent camps who were compelled by their disability to see the ships go without them. It was hard to give these men consolation, although they knew that as soon as they were ready for the voyage the good word would be spoken that should send them toward "God's own Country."

The energies of Major-Gen. Shafter, the Commander-in-Chief, were bent almost exclusively upon the work of transporting the army. He had little time and little vigor, for he was suffering with fever, for civil administration. Only five days before my first visit the responsibility of such duty had been placed upon one whose name is now a household word, Gen. Leonard Wood, the Colonel of the First Volunteer Cavalry, known as the Rough Riders. In three weeks his influence as municipal governor was already apparent, although only one who could compare the condition of things with that immediately following the surrender could appreciate the difference. The reign of filth was perhaps never more thoroughly established in a civilized town than in Santiago during that period. The accumulated offal of a besieged town, of an armed camp, of a city abandoned by its inhabitants under the terror of impending bombardment, and reoccupied by them after a season of exile which had sowed among them the seeds of malarial, typhoid and yellow fevers, diarrhœa, dysentery and divers diseases resulting from starvation and exposure; the accumulated ills of a population of which fully one-third was sick, and but a scant proportion had adequate food, medicine and medical care; these presented some of the features of the sphere of civil influence over which Gen. Wood was called to preside.

Gen. Wood's Advent

There was no system of sewers, and surface drainage was relied upon to carry off the slops and effete matter unblushingly cast into the highways. The daily rains at least did the kindly service of washing the upper sections of the sharply sloping streets; but the heterogeneous mass of filth was transferred to the level strip along the bay, and then into the harbor at the foot of the town. The cobble-stone pavements, with

their deep and numerous crevices, took toll of the passing sewage swept downward by the floods, and held it in a thousand chinks and miniature ravines and vales until the waters went down and the fiery sun came out. Then the whole mass fermented and festered and sent up its foul odors charged with malarial poison.

The scenes in the Civil Hospital whose reorganization was committed to me by Gen. Wood, beggared description. Three persons occupied the space allotted to one. Adequate nursing and medical treatment were wanting. The gleanings of the dead house were daily thrust uncoffined into the dead cart, and driven to a common sepulchre or to a funeral pyre. In the houses of citizens were repeated the distressing scenes of the hospital. One-third or more of the people were sick, many of them seriously ill, and of the remainder few were in vigorous health. Half-naked children, showing the marks of disease and want, played in the fetid streams that wandered down the streets. The broad quay was filled with a miscellaneous crowd, who cooked and ate their scant meals in the open highway as though it were a gypsy camp. Funerals passed at every hour. Pitiful sights! Two bearers of a coffin with one or two pairs of mourners following; or, token of a little better estate, four bearers and several pairs of mourners. Rarely, a carriage would carry a corpse, and at rarest intervals, a hearse. Often one man would be seen wending his mournful way through the street carrying a little white coffin in his arms, the respectful salute of those whom he met being the sign that a funeral was passing by.

Sickness, starvation, death, pestilence were in the air, and overhung the town like a pall. Men wondered and dreaded—What next? The dying cared for the dead, and the living

envied the dying, and black doom faced all flesh. Business was prostrated. The well-to-do were dependent upon charity for daily bread. The uncertainty of the future, under the administration of strangers with a foreign bearing and a foreign tongue, paralyzed enterprise. The irritation existing between the American troops and the Cuban patriots, which threatened at any time an outbreak, deepened the shadow of uncertainty caused by the bitterness and undisguised hate prevailing between Spanish citizens and sympathizers and Cuban patriots.

Outside the city limits but close by, were the camps of the Fifth Army Corps, and of their Spanish prisoners, both alike ravaged by various diseases. One-fourth of the American soldiers were on the sick report; another fourth had just been discharged therefrom, and a good moiety of the remainder was almost ready for the hospital or the surgeon's hands. The Spanish soldiers were in even worse estate. The unhappy city, the seat within herself of so many woes, was thus environed round about with a cordon of disease and death. It was truly a deplorable estate—almost hopeless.

At this juncture Gen. Wood appeared upon the scene and took up the task of reconstructing municipal government in Santiago. He is a man above the middle height; not stout nor thin, but of that lithe and well-knit frame so often associated with great activity and endurance. His face is clean-shaven except a slight mustache. His light brown hair is somewhat sparse and coarse, not silky, at least. His eyes are blue-gray, not prominent, set rather closely against a semi-aquiline nose. His countenance has the expression of a man of studious habits, and in repose it has a dreamy, even pensive cast, such as men popularly attribute to poets. On the whole, one might at first glance take him to be a college professor, or

even a clergyman of the type that discards clerical style. One would hardly pick out such a face as that of the fearless, dashing Colonel of the Rough Riders. His manners in conversation are quiet. He is not talkative; listens carefully with impassive features, but in earnest conversation the face lightens up and he can talk fluently and well. He is not a man of explosive manner, nor demonstrative at all, but rather deliberate in action; a man to trust to make up his mind carefully, but to change it under sufficient evidence; a cool, quiet, thoughtful man of a judicial temperament.

His unconventional manners were in strange contrast with the ceremonious style of Spanish administrators; and it shocked the Cuban citizens who came to the Palace as deputies on public business, clad in full morning dress and silk hats, to be received by the Governor, a General of the great American Republic, in a campaign hat pinched up to a Montana peak, a gray flannel shirt and khaki trousers, and gaiters somewhat the worse for wear. Perhaps he was a little too unmindful at first of the value which Cubans, through the force of tradition and established custom, placed upon the conventional pomp and ceremony that hedges about a ruler. But they soon learned that a work-a-day dress meant a work-a-day man, and that mere ceremony would not clean Santiago's streets, heal Santiago's diseases and restore prosperity to Santiago's impoverished people.

Gen. Wood came to the gubernatorial seat with the prejudice against the Cuban people, and especially the Cuban soldiers, that so many officers of the Fifth Army Corps had imbibed during the brief campaign. But he showed his justice and wisdom by adopting a policy not only of considerate kindness, but of that respectful treatment due an independent people, the legal peers of American citizens, who were to be

met and dealt with from the basis of liberty, equality and fraternity. He grasped the situation at once, and saw that the men put in authority in Cuba and in our new possessions, who would best meet the expectations of the Government and people of the United States, are those who assure a righteous, prosperous and peaceful administration, with the least friction to the colonies and the greatest economy of life and money to the United States. This just, benevolent, sagacious and statesmanlike policy has been honored both in Cuba and America, and what is better, has succeeded in laying the foundations of good government in the Eastern Province of Cuba.

At first Gen. Wood was greatly hampered by the lack of sufficient means, and adequate authority to carry out his plans for civil and military reform. Major-Gen. Lawton was in chief command, and Gen. Wood was only a brigadier assigned to the duty of municipal government, and dependent upon his chief for support therein. But Gen. Lawton was by no means free to act according to his own judgment and inclinations. What were the restrictions placed upon him at that particular juncture the writer cannot say; but he knows that in some way the power to appropriate funds in hand and to secure governmental funds for immediate and pressing use was greatly abridged. It is hard to make bricks without straw, and that was about the duty apparently assigned to Gen. Lawton and Gen. Wood at that period of municipal administration, the genesis of our protectorate in free Cuba.

That the difficulty did not arise from any unwillingness of the head of the War Department to relieve the situation the following incident will show. When about to leave Santiago on the *Seguranca* I stopped at the Municipal Palace to report to Gen. Lawton and to say good-by to him and Gen. Wood. Both

officers were most cordial in expressing their appreciation of my services, and the latter, taking me aside to the corner of the reception room which then constituted his private office, laid clearly before me the situation, the awful and pressing need of immediate relief; his embarrassment, indeed his inability to meet the demands of the situation, and asked me to see the Secretary of War and to lay the facts before him in unvarnished terms. This I agreed to do. As soon as I could safely leave my room, I went to Washington and made my promise good.

Secretary Alger listened not only with interest, but with sympathy. When I had finished he touched a button on the corner of his desk. The Adjutant-General of the Army appeared. "Telegraph to Gen. Lawton," said the Secretary, "that I have heard Dr. McCook's report of the Cuban sick and poor, especially in the Civil Hospital, and that he is directed to draw upon the funds for all that is required to relieve their wants. Will that suffice, Doctor?" he continued. Certainly, nothing could have been more satisfactory; and I doubt not the Secretary's directions was immediately obeyed, and the good news flashed at once over the sea cable to relieve the burdened hearts of Generals Lawton and Wood, and to bring blessings to the suffering unfortunates in Santiago.

Major-Gen. Lawton

Gen. Lawton, the heroic commander of the Second Division that captured Caney, succeeded Gen. Shafter. After a brief service as Military Chief, in which he won the respect and confidence of the people, he was relieved to enter upon his gallant and successful career as a leader of the forces against the hostile Filipinos. He is a man of soldiery bearing; tall and thin but not gaunt, with that lithe and muscular physique which betokens great vigor and endurance. His face is long, swarthy by exposure rather

than nature, smooth-shaven except a heavy mustache above lips whose firm outlines, together with a full chin and strongly set jaws, indicate courage and determination. The eyes are not large, are quiet, and light up most pleasantly. The nose is romanesque, the forehead not high, and covered with a thick crop of closely-cut brownish hair just tinged with streaks of gray. The voice is mellow, not rough, but clear, and even musical at times. The whole countenance is a pleasant one to look upon, good-looking rather than handsome. His manners are cordial to friends and comrades; quiet and respectful to all; there is nothing loud nor domineering nor self-conscious in his demeanor. One soon learns to regard Gen. Lawton as a typical soldier and officer, a thorough, honorable, brave and manly man.

The advent of Gen. Wood was the signal for commencing radical changes in the sanitary, social and governmental condition of Santiago. In the face of many obstacles the work has been carried forward until a decided change for the better has been wrought. An officer of the Fifth United States Infantry (regulars) who joined his regiment at Santiago in October, 1898, has recently, in answer to my questions, stated some of the improvements which have been established or started during his stay. The harbor is being deepened and cleansed, for which purpose a regular dredging machine has been brought from the United States. Work was begun close to the shore in order so to deepen the channel as to permit vessels to approach the pier, now impossible for large ships. The mud removed from the harbor bed is taken in scows to the sea.

The streets are being repaired. Marina Street from the Alameda to the Palace has already been macadamized. San Thomas, San Felix, Enhremadas, San Geronimo and other principal streets have been much improved and some of them also

macadamized. Other streets have been repaired by smoothing off the inequalities and filling up the holes with broken stone. The Alameda has been put in repair. Its avenue of palms has been cared for, benches and pavilions have been painted and repaired ; the camps of American soldiers have been removed, and the broad way is now clear for driving and promenading. The miscellaneous crowds of half-naked, half-starved and dirty people who formed the gypsy-camp upon the quay south of Marina Street, have been dispersed, and that part of the harbor avenue has been cleaned up.

The work of providing underground drainage has begun, and pipes for transmission of water and sewage are being laid down under direction of Lieut. Hamilton, of the Fifth Infantry, who is the engineer in charge. The labor on these works is done by Cubans who work regularly and willingly. An admirable system of street cleaning has been established. The dumping of slops upon public highways is prohibited and is severely punished. Households have suitable vessels in which all waste material may be placed, whose contents are daily collected and taken to a dump outside the city beyond the Civil Hospital, where they are burned. The street cleaning brigade is under the efficient charge of Maj. Barbour, and his workers are clad in a white uniform such as Col. Waring enforced when directing similar service in New York. Special iron wagons are used, so arranged that they can be easily dumped, and these regularly make the rounds of the streets. Four Cubans are attached to every wagon to collect the garbage. Under this arrangement the principal streets are now quite clean, especially around the plaza and in the business centres. In fact, Santiago in this respect compares favorably with many American cities.

The Spanish Military Hospital has been converted into a

general hospital for United States troops, and is in splendid condition, with plenty of surgeons to look after the sick. Both doctors and patients are in good quarters and well cared for in all respects. The Civil Hospital or Municipal Hospital for the citizens of Santiago is in excellent condition. It is in charge of an American surgeon, who is aided by Cuban doctors. The private hospital which had been established by the merchants of Santiago before the war, and which had been fitted up during Gen. Lawton's administration as a hospital for United States officers and others, is under the charge of Surgeon Church, formerly of the Rough Riders. It is in excellent condition, and as the climate is unwholesome for the officers of our army as well as the men, is unhappily in constant use.

Outside the city there have been also many changes for the better. The road from Santiago to Caney has been gone over pretty thoroughly. The deep ruts and holes made by the heavy transportation wagons of the Fifth Army Corps have been filled up, and the road may now be regarded as a first-class one according to the Cuban standard, at least during the dry season. Repairs have also been made upon the road from San Juan Hill through El Pozo to Siboney, which is so familiar to officers and men of the Fifth Army Corps as forming the only line of transportation for commissary and ordnance supplies during the eventful days at the close of June and beginning of July. It is now a fairly good dirt road, making even a pas sable path for a bicycle during the so-called winter months.

Business is much revived, and the people of the city appear to be in good spirits as to the future. The fields and plantations in the near vicinity of Santiago are being gradually put under cultivation. The whole section had been abandoned by the owners, and for several years had been given over to the

unregulated growth of wild tropical plants. The sugar plantations still further beyond the fields adjacent to the city, are being worked by the owners, although under some disadvantages, on account of the occasional presence of bandits who exact blackmail. This is paid at present as security against the destruction of property, and this iniquitous system will probably be continued until law and order are thoroughly established under Gen. Wood's administration.

The road to Siboney runs past the Spanish General Hospital, a series of extensive connected buildings on the heights. Its management under the Spanish surgeons appears to have been highly commendable. From a half dozen points floated the Red Cross banner of the Medical Department. Just beyond the gates of the town, in the valley and on the lower slopes facing San Juan, the Spanish captives were encamped. Soon after breakfast, the hour of sick-call, a melancholy procession of sick soldiers would be seen slowly moving toward the hospital. The uniform of these prisoners was a grayish blue cotton blouse and trousers, and a white panama hat which frequently bore a rosette or cockade of the Spanish colors. In the Spanish army the grade of non-commissioned officers and various arms of service is indicated by movable badges. Rank is indicated among commissioned officers by stars, differing in size, in metal and in number, and by slip-on cuffs. These marks of rank are all removable, to permit laundry work. Despite the reputation of Spanish soldiers for uncleanliness, most of the prisoners whom I saw, and even the forlorn sick detail, looked clean, a fact largely due to their wash-clothes uniforms.

Spanish Prisoners

They were all without underclothes, a circumstance hardly conducive to health in the Cuban climate. The sun is intensely

hot from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m., although one can keep comfortable in the shade even during that interval. At night, during the three months of which I had experience, July, August and September, the temperature rapidly fell, under the combined influences of the adjacent mountains and sea. There were not a half dozen nights in which I did not have to use a blanket before daybreak. In the open camps men without adequate covers and without underclothes often suffered from cold. Moreover, when cotton uniforms are drenched by daily rains and kept damp by the wet ground and heavy dews, they become clammy and induce chills. The wool shirts and trousers of the American soldiers were certainly hot and cumbrous during the heat of the day; but there was a compensation in their power to protect against rains and evening dews and chills, and it is not certain but that on the whole our men, under their peculiar conditions, were better served by them than they would have been by cotton suits.

Some of the sick Spaniards were helped by their mates. Some staggered or dragged themselves wearily along without aid. Some were borne on litters on the shoulders of comrades. Among them, now and then, would be a face as ghastly and still as death, perhaps a dying man. No doubt many of the Spanish soldiers were quite young (as has been reported), but those seen by me were not boys, but young men, apparently between twenty-three and thirty. There were no sullen looks cast at the passing officer. Some saluted. All looked up respectfully. Their countenances were sad and depressed as though longing for a glimpse of the home coasts of Spain. It would be a glad day indeed when these down-hearted men set their faces toward Europe. I rarely saw a bright, or sprightly, not to say a laughing face among the prisoners. There was

that in their countenance and carriage that bespoke a sense of weariness and oppression under an intolerable burden that moved one to pity; but they bore themselves with a quiet dignity that won respect.

It was pleasant to note the kindly spirit that existed between the American troops and their captives. The fraternization began at once, and would have grown warmer continually could the prisoners have come into closer contact with our men. The animosity of war on the part of the Americans ceased with the surrender, and the Spaniards soon learned that their foes are generous to a vanquished enemy. It was a rare revelation of character when they found themselves cared for more tenderly and fed more abundantly than in their own lines.

There is no doubt that many of the Spaniards at first believed that the Americans would shoot all captives. A touching incident showing this feeling, which occurred at Caney, was related to me by a staff officer. After the capture of the stone fort that crowns the hill El Viso, a burial party under Capt. Allen began to inter the Spanish dead. This was done by laying them in their own trenches, as was also done at San Juan. Nearby the crest lay a lad of about seventeen years shot through the hips. As the dead bodies of his comrades were borne behind him toward the trenches, he would turn his head and follow the sad work with a horror-stricken countenance. The American officer at last observed his face, and rightly discerning his feelings, called an interpreter and assured the youthful soldier that no harm would be done him.

"Shall I not be buried alive, along with my comrades?" was the anxious query.

"No, no! You shall be cared for, presently, and your wounds dressed and tended as if you were an American."

The youth's face was instantly transformed. His horror was changed to happiness, his fear to friendship. He reached out his hand to Capt. Allen and poured forth profuse thanks, and until he was taken to the hospital showed his gratitude by shaking hands with every American who came near. Poor lad! And he, too, is a mother's son, and some anxious-hearted dame awaited his coming in distant Spain. May her love and longing have no disappointment!

I was told several incidents illustrating the same error, which no doubt had been propagated, or at least encouraged, by Spanish army officers, in order to nerve their ignorant peasant soldiers to die fighting rather than surrender. Major-Gen. Wheeler alludes to this prevalent misbelief as it came under his observation. He says that it was somewhat amusing, and yet pitiful, to witness the abject trepidation of the prisoners captured by the Americans. They were marched to Gen. Shafter's headquarters, promptly disarmed, and anything with which they could inflict injury was taken from them. They gazed about them with staring eyes, watching closely every movement of their guards, and whenever a body of the latter entered and were drawn up in line, the Spaniards confidently thought their end had come, and that they were to be shot down in a body. At such times they would alternately shriek for mercy, and endeavor to pacify their captors by shouting "Viva los Americanos!" Their surprise and delight were intense, and their expressions and gesticulations jubilant when they were made to lie down on the grass, were spoken to kindly by the American interpreters, and were given a more substantial meal than they had probably had since leaving their native land.*

* Wheeler—"The Santiago Campaign," pp. 48.

The repatriation of the Spanish prisoners, according to the provisions of the capitulation, was one of the most striking and in some respects one of the saddest events I have ever witnessed. To be sure there was underneath all the distressing attendant scenes the undertone of hope in view of home-going. But there was so much visible that was unspeakably pitiful that one could scarcely find it in his heart to be glad for the repatriated prisoners. In giving here my own impressions of the event I use with little change the notes written at the time, which are sketches from nature, and not mere recorded recollections.

Repatriation of Prisoners

Wearied with the day's work and anxiety in the Civil Hospital, I had fallen asleep in my room, then on the Calle Marina. The deep rumble of a heavy wagon over the cobble-stone pavement and the loud shouts of drivers awoke me. I arose, and leaning over the wooden casement gazed through the wide iron guards of the great bowed window upon a strange scene. There were no obtruding panes of glass to break the vision. It was dark; nothing but starlight in the street, except the glancing beams of lanterns swung on the arms of horsemen who cantered up and down directing the movements of a long wagon train. What could this be?

The vans were the ambulances and baggage wagons of the Spanish army, and they were filled with Spanish soldiers. One knew them by the white leghorn hats and the blue gray cotton uniforms that showed almost white in the dim street. They sat or rather leaned up against one another in double rows, omnibus fashion, and the narrow space between was filled with prostrate forms.

"Whoa!" The van beneath the window suddenly stopped. The sharp jerk of the reins pulled the fore mules almost against

the house wall. One could feel the groan that rolled along the train as wagon load after wagon load of jarred and jolted men bumped up against one another One could feel, but not hear it. Only the loud "Whoas!" of the teamsters disturbed the night's stillness, for these patient sufferers were mute. They were so feeble, so overwhelmed by the horrors of the prisoners' camp among the hills from which they were escaping, that they were dumb even in their pains. Perhaps, also, the thought of home-going kept them quiet.

The clock struck and kept on striking. It was only eleven! I had thought it morning, and this the first train of those sad-faced, silent men, who had been treading the streets for two days on their way to the dock and to the Spanish ships in the offing. It must be the last of yesterday's cargo belated in their journey; journey, mark you, not march, for these soldiers cannot march, although it is only two miles to their mountain camp. What will they do when they reach the dock? Where will they sleep? What will they eat? Quien sabe?—who knows? Aye, and who cares? This is war!

The lanterns of the horsemen twinkled up and down the street, and the train again moved. Ah! here come the litter men! You can discern only the outline of a form on the canvas stretcher; but you know the story. Yes, you have been in war before this. Move on, men! Faster! Don't let the following team trample you!

The long train passed. The rumble of wheels grew fainter, died away. The deep hush of night again fell. A dog across the way—wretched hound!—lifted up its voice in one of those prolonged howls, a survival of its far-away wolfish ancestors, whose weird dolefulness has made it with men of every race an omen of coming disaster. Will the brute never stop?

Hark! Up there, beyond the plaza and the municipal palace where the little American flag floats above the carved arms of Spain, you hear dimly the rumble of a wagon. That is the road toward Siboney and the prisoners' camp. It is another train of sick Spanish soldiers on the way home. Home to Spain—did you say? They should be housed in a hospital! The clock struck again. It was midnight. Heaven help the wretched men down there on the damp landing waiting for the morning!

At last day has come, and at long last—near noon—the order comes to the crowds of jaded, faded, fainting men sitting and lying on every available spot, to get ready to go on board ship—homeward bound! Even such a hope cannot put animation into their movements. They rise slowly and fall languidly into line. Stand on the dock with me where the fiery rays of a tropical sun beat hottest. A vessel is at the quay to transfer the prisoners to the big Spanish ships that cannot make landing here. On either side of the gangway, close against the vessel, are two Spanish officers whose sleek and wholesome looks are a striking foil to the wan face of the sergeant who is calling a company roll. Just opposite him another officer has a typewritten duplicate on which he checks off names as the sergeant called them.

"Juan Delgado." "Presente!"

A thin-cheeked, sallow man started forward and stepped upon the gangway. His blanket roll was slung over his bony shoulder, a bit of light stuff that will be slight protection against sea winds and sea chills. But he was better off than many of his comrades, who had no covering but their cotton uniforms, a suitable garb in torrid Cuba, it may be, but as effective as pajamas against old ocean. Juan Delgado feebly lifted his arm to salute as he passed the sergeant and disappeared over the

gangway in the mass of wan humanity on the *Tarpon's* decks. The roll call proceeded. The line of spectral figures slowly crept shipward. Name followed name, and the answering "presente—presente!" until the boat seemed full. Yet the line of coming soldiers appeared interminable.

"What inhumanity to pack these men in this way! The ship will be worse than the black hole of Calcutta!" I could not forbear this audible outbreak of indignation.

A deep voice behind me answered: "It's only for a little while, sir. We're just taking them to their ship, which draws too much water to come to the dock. It's a fine ship, better than any of these American transports."

I turned. It was one of the officers of the *Tarpon* who had spoken, a spectator, like myself, of this touching scene. "But the Spanish transport will be overcrowded, I dare say?" I queried.

"Yes, no doubt. They'll put 2000 men where we would put 1400. And it'll be hard lines on 'em. Look at 'em, sir! There's not a sound lookin' man among 'em; not a patch o' color nor a bit o' flesh. Skin an' bones, sir! But they're athletes alongside the first lot we carried. It was the sick ones, an' many of 'em couldn't walk at all. Why, sir, nine of 'em died on my boat on one trip in the few minutes we were transferring 'em to the transport, an' thirteen died on another trip. One died going up the gangway. The decks were a mass of filth from involuntary acts of nature. We had to turn on the hose and flood the decks with water. It's truly pitiful! Why, sir, one-third of those poor fellows 'll be food for fishes."

"Benito Aranjo!" called the sergeant.

I had been watching Benito as he slowly moved up the line supported by a comrade at each arm. As he neared the ship's port a slight flush tinged his cheeks. Two men ahead

of him! He straightened out his lank form and lifted up his head. One man ahead of him! His supporters slipped back into the ranks, leaving him standing alone. One could see him brace to the task. He must make that gangway! He cannot bear to be turned back or be assigned to the sick bay. It is a conflict between a strong will and a weak body that you are noting.

The sergeant repeated his call: "Benito Aranjo!"

"Presente!"

There was a sad attempt to smile as he answered. The hand moved to the hat with a nervous jerk. The body braced into an erect posture, and with a firm tread the man moved over the gangway through the double line of inspecting officers. I looked to see him stumble prone onto the deck; but no, he reached the crowd beyond ere he sank down, and was lost to view.

Poor Benito! Poor Juan! And poor Jose and Manuel, and all those other unhappy sons of Spain. And, alas, for the mothers and wives who await them; who await, never to see them more. There will be merry greetings when the survivors of these silent men reach Spain. But, also, what tears and wailings as the returned shall shake their heads mournfully and say: "El es morto!"—he is dead!

"I have seen many sights," said a surgeon one day at the Anglo-American Club. "I have been in cholera, smallpox and yellow-fever epidemics in the Mississippi River towns. I served through the war of the Sixties, and have been a medical professor and practitioner ever since, but the scene at the burning of the Spanish dead to-day was the most revolting I ever saw. Did you hear about it?"

"No; what was it?" We all leaned forward on the table, under that spell which draws men to gruesome narrative.

"There were some forty dead bodies which the Spaniards could not bury, and were ordered to be cremated. On a grating of iron railroad ties the corpses were piled up, intermingled with wood, in a great pile as high as this ceiling. Then the funeral pyre was saturated with kerosene oil, and the torch was applied. The fire slowly kindled. The flames were beginning to burn high and overlap their unconscious victims, when a heavy rain came up and quenched the fire. The corpses were but half consumed, and the sight——"

But I spare the reader. More than once I saw the thick columns of smoke from the cemetery precincts, and knew the ghastly scene which they signalled. I have seen the dead cart leave the Civil Hospital filled with uncoffined dead, who were driven away to the same gruesome doom, but I did not have the heart to follow them to their gehenna of fire. Alas, the aftermath of war is more revolting than war itself!

Shortly after the work of repatriation of the Spanish troops had been completed, under date of October 13th, 1898, the Quartermaster's Department at Washington gave to the public a statement of the work of transporting to Spain the Spanish prisoners surrendered at Santiago. The contract was given to the Spanish Trans-Atlantic Company for the sum of $850,000. The work of transportation began August 9th, and continued until September 17th, during which period fifteen ships carried 22,864 persons from Santiago and Guatanamo to Spain. These were divided as follows: 1163 officers, 20,974 enlisted men, 331 women, the wives and daughters of the officers; 348 children of the officers, 21 priests and monks and 27 Sisters of Charity.

The number of persons carried was one thousand short of the number contracted for, due to death among the Spanish

soldiers after the surrender and before repatriation began. *About one thousand more soldiers died on shipboard.* In other words, one-twentieth of the men who left the ports of Cuba never reached their native land. The statement was authorized that many of these soldiers were too ill to undertake the voyage and were forbidden to go aboard the ship by their doctors, but disobeyed the orders. All those who died in transit were buried at sea. The largest number of persons taken on one trip was 2555, on the transport which left Santiago August 27th, 1898.

Even before the Spanish army had been repatriated, a similar movement began among American soldiers. It was continued on a small scale until the entire Fifth Corps had been returned to the States. The experiences of the campaign ought to and doubtless will bring about a radical change in the mode of dealing with soldiers, especially invalided men, during transit from tropical countries to their native shore. The prevailing theory appeared to be that nothing more than the ordinary travel ration would be required by men under such circumstances. It was not considered that soldiers exhausted by hard service and sickness, and those who came directly from hospitals, could not prepare the travel ration allotted them, and even if they had been able to do so, would not get from it the nourishment which their cases required. Of course, necessity knows no law, and there are conditions in some and occasions in all campaigns that must be satisfied by inadequate provision. One cannot always reach his ideal. Under the cruel conditions of warfare, the ideal facilities of a hospital must be sacrificed in and around the scenes of conflict. But there appears no sufficient reason why the rule above referred to should have been made inexorable, or why it should have been enforced in any case upon our transports.

Soldiers on Transports

It would have been easy for the authorities to permit, in all cases, as was done in some, a money equivalent for the travel ration, which could have been paid to the stewards of the various transports for suitable food suitably prepared, and for help in serving the same. It is or it ought to be understood that most of the transports in Government service during the Spanish-American campaign were simply hired for the occasion. Their contract was to carry troops and military stores. It did not include feeding officers and soldiers and civilians in Government employ. Officers and others could be boarded for a sum not exceeding a dollar and a half a day. Enlisted men must take care of themselves, although there was nothing except the cost to hinder them from paying for food prepared by the stewards, if so disposed. But few of the enlisted men could afford to purchase food from the ship's stores. As a result, sick soldiers on their voyage home were without proper nourishment, and many suffered and some died as a result.

Another point not duly considered, was the proper clothing for men embarking from a tropical climate to a temperate zone. My observation was that many soldiers put to sea clad in light khaki suits and without overcoats or extra covering. As soon as the vessel was freed from the immediate influence of the Cuban climate, it was liable to experience a decided drop in temperature. As the ship approached the American coast, this was much greater, and I have seen well men suffer severely from lack of adequate clothing. What must have been the condition of invalids? On one transport on which I sailed, there was but one overcoat and one heavy mackintosh in a company of nearly a hundred officers and men. The consequences can be readily imagined when the ship approached Northern New York, and was exposed to the fogs and chills of early autumn.

There is another fact that did not seem to be calculated upon. There is a strange influence in a change of climate to induce a sudden change in one's physical condition. Sometimes this is for the better, but often it is for the worse. For example, I noticed that men who embarked from Cuba in apparent good health, had no sooner fairly entered the distinct ocean environment than they were taken with chills, and suffered from calentura during the entire voyage. On landing they had to be sent to a hospital. This fact is known to the medical profession and to others. There is scarcely a season during which visitors from the interior to the seashore do not find, much to their surprise, that they are suddenly attacked with sickness. So, on the contrary, persons coming from the seashore to the interior will be seized with malarial fevers. This common experience shows that a decided change of local or climatic condition often tends to bring out the latent germs of certain diseases in the human system.

Apparently this fact was not counted on in transporting our soldiers from Cuba and Puerto Rico. Certainly many convalescents experienced a relapse of fever, and those who seemed to be well fell ill. Much of the discredit which came to Camp Wikoff at Montauk Point was doubtless due to this curious tendency, and the men of the Fifth Corps who became sick on the voyage or shortly after landing, would have suffered equally had they been sent to any other place. The special point to be considered is that it does not always do for the medical department to depend upon the service of soldiers who embark apparently well, to nurse the sick on transports sailing from tropical countries, for those relied upon for such helpful duty are likely to sicken and thus add to the burdens of the situation. I may

best illustrate the points which I have here sought to make by relating my experience on board the transport *Seguranca*.*

My special labors in Cuba were stopped by a sudden attack of Cuban fever, and I left Santiago, on the *Seguranca*, September 16th. A number of officers and men, most of whom were invalids and convalescents returning home to join their regiments, were on this vessel. Some of them had been carried out of the yellow fever hospital at Santiago with nothing but their pajamas and blankets, and in a very low condition. To care for these invalids nothing had been provided except the ordinary soldier's travel rations and some plain soups. It was at once manifest to the skillful, kindly surgeon, Maj. W. B. Banister, detailed for duty on the ship, that it would be impossible to sustain all these lives during the voyage upon such nutriment. After consultation with the surgeon and hospital stewards, I asked the privilege of providing from the ship's store suitable food, including its preparation by the ship's cooks, and its serving by the stewards' crew of waiters. Thus a sick diet was procured, including such articles as boiled eggs, toast and tea, hot milk, milk punches, mutton chops, fresh-meat broths, etc.

The result of this treatment may be expressed in the language of Assistant Surgeon Newkirk, who had been on duty in the General Hospital at Siboney, and was on board suffering, like myself, from calentura. When bidding me good-bye on the quarantine tug in New York harbor, he said: "When we started upon this voyage, I confidently expected that we would leave at least a half-dozen of these men to sleep

* It ought to be stated that at present the Quartermaster's Department owns most of its transports, some of which are admirably equipped, and as far as I have learned, the service is satisfactory, certainly highly superior to that rendered during the Cuban campaign.

in the depths of Old Ocean. Through the aid which you have extended, not a man has been lost, and even our dying yellow fever patient will be buried ashore. It is due to you to make this statement."

The chief surgeon in charge, Maj. W. B. Banister, of the regular army, Brigade Surgeon U. S. V., handed me a letter, a part of which I quote: "Dear Doctor: As we are approaching the 'parting of the ways,' I wish to express to you, on the part of my patients and myself, our thanks for the assistance furnished on the voyage from Santiago de Cuba to Montauk Point, L. I., in the way of funds, which enabled me to provide the sick committed to my charge with proper and necessary diet. In my opinion, some lives were saved thereby, and men longing for home were enabled to see their hopes fulfilled. I also desire to express my appreciation of other help in your ministerial capacity, which cannot be expressed in commercial values."

These simple statements tell the whole story. The physical comfort of all those invalid and convalescent soldiers was much promoted, and some of their lives were saved by providing for them "proper and necessary diet," which the controlling authority had failed to furnish. The ship's officers could not do this, for they were only custodians of the owners' property. The surgeons, however willing to sacrifice their scant income to relieve their patients, had not the means in hand. It so happened that I had funds at my disposal* which were given for such uses. On this circumstance, accidental or providential as one chooses to view it, the comfort of many and the lives of several of those heroes of the Fifth Army Corps depended.

*Contributed by Mr. and Mrs. William J. Swain, members of my congregation, and deposited by me with the National Relief Commission.

When the *Seguranca* was sent from Montauk Point, where it could not be permitted to land on account of the fellow fever case on board, as the detention hospital there had then been broken up, a new difficulty arose. Five or six of our patients, who had been turned in from the yellow fever hospital at Santiago with no clothing but pajamas, must be provided with suitable clothes for the transfer to a hospital in New York. No such extra garments were available. In this exigency Dr. Barrett, of Boston, relieved the situation. He represented the Massachusetts Soldiers' and Sailors' Aid Association, and had done splendid service among the sick in Santiago. He went among the soldiers, and purchased from one a pair of trousers; from another a blouse; from a third socks; from a fourth underclothes, and so on, until all were clad. The outfit was somewhat heterogeneous, and the fit was not immaculate, but at that particular juncture the lads of the Fifth Corps were not addicted to dress suits. A double kindness was thus wrought. The naked invalids were clothed and the soldiers who spared the extra garments got a little cash, which they greatly needed.

When it came to furnishing hats the good Doctor was "sore put to it." However, the passengers took up the matter, and we found among us enough extra hats and caps to meet the requirements of the case. The author was better off in headgear than any of his fellow-passengers, for besides his Cuban helmet he had a campaign hat and a sailor's white hat purchased on board a man-of-war, and these went into "the pool." Somewhere in the city of Chicago a sergeant of the First Illinois Infantry doubtless treasures a campaign hat as a souvenir of his voyage on the *Seguranca;* and in a thriving village of Eastern Ohio, a war correspondent from "the President's Own" regiment may retain among the trophies of his

Cuban campaign a sailor's hat that once adorned the head of the Chaplain of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment of Infantry. It was a delightful privilege to engage in such a good work, but none the less, the Government of the United States, through its proper authorities, should have made the work unnecessary.*

* I do not remember the names of all my fellow-voyagers on the *Seguranca* for whom I was permitted to do these kindly offices in behalf of my generous congregation. But I have thought of them, and have learned that they passed safely through the New York Hospital. Wherever they are I wish them well, and will be pleased to know that they are prosperous and happy citizens of the Republic whose honor they sustained by valor upon the field and suffering in the hospital and on shipboard.

Chapter XII

Relief Work Among Soldiers

ONCE this soft turf, this rivulet's sands,
Were trampled by a hurrying crowd,
And fiery hearts and armèd hands
Encounter'd in the battle-cloud.

Ah, never shall the land forget
How gushed the life-blood of her brave,—
Gush'd, warm with hope and courage yet,
Upon the soil they fought to save.

Now all is calm, and fresh, and still;
Alone the chirp of flitting bird,
And talk of children on the hill,
And bell of wandering kine, are heard.

No solemn host goes trailing by
The black-mouth'd gun and staggering wain;
Men start not at the battle-cry,—
Oh, be it never heard again!

—William Cullen Bryant.

Relief Work Among Soldiers

THE outbreak of the Spanish-American war was the signal for the organization of voluntary associations to aid in caring for sick and wounded soldiers and sailors.* Among the most active and useful of these was the American Red Cross Society which was supported chiefly by a Relief Committee of New York citizens, but had affiliated or independent branches in several States. California formed an independent organization, whose attention was given especially to the soldiers embarking on the Pacific for the Philippines, and accomplished a large amount of valuable work.

Voluntary Aid Societies

The head of the Red Cross Society, Miss Clara Barton, took personal supervision of the work among the natives in Cuba, in which she was nobly supported by a number of volunteer workers. This relief of the starving and suffering Cubans was the chief service rendered by this Society during hostilities and thereafter. But a timely and most valuable aid was extended to the surgeons of the Fifth Army Corps immediately after the battles of July 1st in front of Santiago. The Red Cross supply ship *State of Texas* was off shore at the time awaiting opportunity to enter Santiago, and the lack of adequate

* Even if space permitted the author has not the information at hand to enable him to mention all these societies. He can only refer briefly to several of those with whose work or workers he happened to have personal relations of some sort.

preparation for the care of the numerous wounded was so manifest, and the need of the relief so apparent that workers landed at Siboney and contributed personal aid and much needed supplies. Miss Barton came up the Las Guasimas Pass to the First Division Hospital near Gen. Shafter's headquarters, and at once organized a field diet kitchen, while her aids helped to care for the wounded. The story of this work has been well told by Mr. George Kennan,* who was on the field as a Red Cross helper. When the *State of Texas* entered Santiago, July 17th, with supplies for the citizens, the wants of the soldiers were again met by timely and liberal issues of food, medicines and delicacies on requisition from army officers.†

Another active society was the Woman's National War Relief Association, whose headquarters were in New York City. Mrs. Gen. U. S. Grant was the President of this Society. Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth‡ was Director-General, and after her departure for Camp Wikoff, to engage in personal work with the soldiers, the management of the Association fell to Miss Helen Gould, the Assistant Director-General. This lady, by her large gifts for the suffering soldiers and by her fine executive ability, did much to make the Woman's War Relief Association one of the worthiest volunteer agencies for good. Her benefactions won the unusual and distinguished honor of receiving the public thanks of the United States Senate in Congress met. The Treasurer of the Association was Mrs. Charles H. Raymond whose tragic death shortly after the cessation of hostilities excited widespread sorrow. Mrs. Eugene McLean was the efficient Corresponding Secretary.

* In a series of letters to *The Outlook* and in his book "Campaigning in Cuba."

† See "The Red Cross," by Clara Barton, p. 650.

‡ This lady's daughter, Miss Reubena H. Walworth, was the Registrar of the Association, and went to Camp Wikoff, Montauk Point, as a volunteer nurse. She contracted typhoid fever in the hospital wards and died therefrom.

In New England the most important organization was the Massachusetts Army and Navy Aid Association with headquarters at Boston. Its large benefactions were not limited to the troops of Massachusetts, but were extended to all who needed relief. One of the most helpful workers, Dr. Barrett, was stationed in Santiago.

The first volunteer aid association in the field was the National Relief Commission, whose organization was begun in Philadelphia on April 17, 1898, when war seemed inevitable, and was completed April 25th at a public meeting in the hall of the Young Men's Christian Association. An executive committee was then formed, of which the author was chairman until he entered upon active duty in the army. Mr. John H. Converse, of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, one of the most intelligent, philanthropic and generous citizens of the Republic, was chosen president, and Mr. George W. Thomas, the liberal and public-spirited head of the banking firm of Drexel & Co., was elected treasurer. M. S. French was made general secretary. The constituency and official membership of the National Relief Commission were drawn from a number of States, but the three adjoining States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware were especially active and prominent in its support. Its operations were confined to the relief of American soldiers, sailors and marines and their needy families, and extended to all the camps formed in the United States from Montauk Point to Key West, and also to the camps in and around Santiago de Cuba. The service rendered in Puerto Rico was especially valuable, and the relief ship, *The May*, carried large quantities of hospital supplies to that Island, which were greatly needed. A medical field agent was maintained at San Juan during the war.

FIG. 163

A group of volunteer soldiers in camp.

The Commission also co-operated with regimental chaplains and with the Young Men's Christian Association in promoting moral and religious work among the soldiers and sailors, and in distributing sacred and secular literature. A hundred thousand copies of its "Song Book for Soldiers and Sailors" and its "Spanish Phrase Book" were distributed freely. Moreover, a large number of needy families of volunteers was aided by monthly grants of money during the campaign. The National Relief Commission, or, as it was sometimes called, the "White Cross Society," from the silver cross in the centre of the blue field of its banner and badge, will long be remembered with gratitude by thousands of those who took part in the Spanish-American war, and by the parents and friends of those who suffered through battle wounds and diseases.

The attitude toward volunteer aid societies of the medical departments of both the army and navy at the beginning of the war determined that of the General Government. It was substantially that there would be no need of voluntary aid, as the ordinary machinery of the departments was adequate for every situation likely to develop. But inquirers were notified that money sent to the heads of the departments would be used to supplement with extra comforts the fixed Government appropriations for the sick and injured. Happily, this attitude was justified in the navy, whose unparalleled victories were won at a cost in casualties that seems incredible. But in the army it was otherwise. The outbreak of various diseases, and especially the epidemic of typhoid fever, in the camps of instruction, particularly Camp Alger and Camp Thomas, showed that the Medical Department could not meet the situation unaided. The facts confirmed the position taken by the advocates of voluntary

aid societies. As soon as the necessity appeared, however, the proffered help was not only cheerfully but gratefully accepted, and facilities extended in all quarters to authorized agents and other workers to bring relief to the soldiers. From the beginning Gen. Alger, the Secretary of War, was most cordial toward the National Relief Commission, and as early as the middle of June issued an order giving authority and protection to its agents in all cantonments of the United States Army.

Later in the summer the benefactions of aid societies took the direction of bringing army invalids, particularly typhoid cases, to city hospitals. The use of these admirable institutions had been offered the Government at the outbreak of war, and apparently had not even been considered. But when the great necessity developed, that army surgeons could not adequately meet, the authorities turned to the hospitals. With wise humanity the Medical Department directed the removal of fever patients from field to city hospitals, and this was done largely under the supervision of aid societies. The hospitals welcomed the soldiers; the best attention that modern medical and nursing skill could afford was given them, and thus hundreds of lives were saved. On the whole, one must conclude that the work of volunteer aid associations was of the highest value to the Government in meeting the casualties inevitable to warfare.

This fact is not surprising, nor is it discreditable to the Government, except perhaps for the failure to recognize it sooner. The established medical staff, based upon an army of twenty-five thousand men, and scattered throughout the entire nation, could not possibly overtake the work suddenly thrown upon it by the calling out of a quarter of a million of volunteers. The regular army surgeons, with few exceptions, were inexperienced in the care of large bodies of men, for their labors

JOHN HEMAN CONVERSE

President of the National Relief Commission

FIG. 164

had been limited to the care of companies or battalions, rarely of regiments, stationed at posts on the frontier or elsewhere. The campaign was so brief that there was no opportunity to develop special abilities and to recognize the same, nor to prune out those unable to expand their personal horizon to meet the enlarged situation. There is no doubt that, as in the Civil War, matters would have corrected themselves had the campaign been prolonged. This is evident from the fact that there appears to be little complaint of the treatment of our soldiers in the Philippines during the war against the hostiles. The serious mistake made was undoubtedly the failure of the head of the Medical Department to recognize what was so plain to the organizers of relief associations, viz., that the lessons of the past and the prevailing conditions indicated that governmental organization would require to be supplemented by popular support.

One can appreciate the unwillingness of a thoroughly equipped and devoted body of men, such as compose the medical corps of our army, to admit the inadequacy of their system to meet the largest demands. But there is a limit to human powers ; and it ought to have been understood that an army of three hundred thousand men on a war footing, could not be served by an organization adapted for twenty-five thousand on a peace footing. Moreover, it should have been seriously considered that under the influence of a tropical climate at the unhealthy season, and the exposures of camp and battlefield, the little corps of surgeons and the vast army of soldiers would alike be depleted by prevailing diseases, and thus as the number of sick increased the number of surgeons would diminish, and the disproportion between the two be continually widened. It is true, that when the necessities developed, contract doctors as acting-assistant surgeons were hurried into the field, and soon

greatly relieved the situation. But they came too late to prevent the unhappy conditions which caused so much needless suffering in the first few weeks of the campaign, and which awakened throughout the country a storm of reproach and condemnation.

But after all, it should not be forgotten, it is not forgotten, that the parties upon whom falls the responsibility of our inadequate preparation for war and its inevitable consequences, are not to be looked for in the Army or in the War Department. The Nation's Representatives in Congress, who, knowing this country's unpreparedness (which, indeed, their ignorance and neglect had caused) rushed an unwilling administration and an unready army and navy upon the awful chances of conflict on sea and in foreign lands, are the men upon whom justly rests the guilt of the needless suffering and waste of life in the Spanish-American War. Others may have the right to censure where there is righteous cause therefor, but the hue and cry which some of these men have raised against the President and his heads of Departments is regarded by candid persons as simply the ruse of the fleeing rogue who seeks to cover his flight by the cry of "Stop thief!"

Among the voluntary agencies which wrought for the benefit of soldiers during the Spanish-American war, one of the most active and most useful was the Young Men's Y. M. C. A. Christian Association. It would be hard to express in adequate language the comfort and help which this organization brought to our men. Its functions were varied, and were directed to the physical, social and moral welfare of the soldiers. The beginning of the army work of the Association was very simple and has not, I believe, been made public.

On the 25th of April a meeting was held at the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association in Philadelphia, Fifteenth and Chestnut Streets, to complete the organization of The National Relief Commission. During that meeting, in response to questions by members of the executive committee, the author of this book, who was then president of the committee, mentioned a number of methods by which the Commission could contribute to the soldiers' comfort and health. Among other facts, he referred to the lack of facilities for letter writing which he had observed during his service as a chaplain in the Civil War, and for many years in the camps of the National Guard of Pennsylvania. He proposed that the Relief Commission should at once procure large quantities of paper, envelopes and stamps, and make arrangements to distribute the former and sell the latter, or to dispose of all needed stationary at the first cost of purchase. This had been the author's custom as chaplain, and had been of much benefit to the men in keeping them in touch with home and home friends, and thus indirectly contributing to their moral welfare.

Fig. 165
Army tent of Y. M. C. A.

Fig. 166
Regimental Encampment at Mt. Gretna.

The suggestion was highly approved, and would have been taken up by the Commission but for the following circumstance:

Seated on a back seat in the hall during this meeting was one of the secretaries of the Philadelphia Young Men's Christian Association, Mr. Halsey Hammond, who was much impressed by the above statement. The next day he went to Mr. John H. Converse, who had been elected President of the National Relief Commission, and who is, as he has long been, one of the warmest friends and patrons of the Young Men's Christian Association. To him Mr. Hammond suggested that the work of distributing stationery be turned over to the Association, and he pledged himself and all the facilities of the institution to do the work thoroughly. Mr. Converse wisely assented to this request.

Not a moment of time was lost. The Pennsylvania Guard had already been ordered into Camp Hastings at Mt. Gretna. Mr. Hammond rented two large tents, had prepared quantities of paper and envelopes having thereon the letterhead of the Association, laid in a supply of postage stamps, furnished a camp outfit for himself and assistants, had his material shipped, and was on the ground as soon as the troops, ready for work. I had the pleasure of seeing one of these big circular tents which afterward became so familiar to all the soldiers of the Spanish-American war, erected in Camp Hastings, near the headquarters of Gen. Schall, and the young men starting their philanthropic and patriotic work therein. This was the beginning of the movement.

It was taken up by Young Men's Christian Associations throughout the entire country, and in a short time a special international committee was organized to conduct the army and navy work, whose chairman was Col. John J. McCook, of New York

FIG. 167

Interior of a Y. M. C. A. army tent. Soldiers reading and writing.

City. I have seen and carefully observed the operations of the Association in all the principal camps throughout the United States and in the camps of the Fifth Army Corps near Santiago. I am, therefore, in a situation to bear witness to its noble efficiency.

One of the pleasantest sights in our great cantonments at Camp Alger, at Jacksonville, at Tampa, at Chickamauga and elsewhere, was the tent of the Young Men's Christian Association. At almost any time of the day or evening one would find them not only occupied but crowded. Near the entrance was the little enclosure of rude planks at which the field secretary stood to issue freely, to all who asked, writing paper and envelopes, and to sell stamps at government prices, or secure suitable endorsement as a "soldier's letter." Close by hung an immense bag which gradually filled up as the day advanced, and morning and evening and sometimes oftener a half bushel of mail would be carried away for distribution by the army post. On one side of the enclosure were erected rough board tables, on either side of which were board seats. As a rule every foot of space would be occupied by a soldier writing a letter, for which service pencils or pen and ink were at hand. Numbers of soldiers for whom there was no room at the tables would be seated in vacant corners, and in the gangways writing on their knees or hats or on extemporized desks, letters to the loved ones at home. On the opposite side of the tent other groups would be engaged in some amusement, such as pitching quoits, playing dominoes or checkers.

Outside, here and there, would be knots of men chatting with one another, smoking and talking over camp life, and exchanging news from home, or listening to the reading of a newspaper—a month old, if in Cuba. Near by the door one would often see a hogshead of pure water, in the midst of which

FIG. 168

Group of soldiers in front of Y. M. C. A. army tent, Camp Thomas.

were bobbing great lumps of ice. What sweet music the chunks made as they clinked against one another; and what a pleasure it was to mark the zest with which the lads quaffed the cooling beverage! Not far away was the army canteen pursuing, under Government permission, its demoralizing and destructive work. It was, indeed, a happy contrast furnished at the headquarters of the Young Men's Christian Association, in the beautiful work sustained by the voluntary offerings of the Christian people of the land. The Association tent became the social centre of regiments and brigades. It was the point at which men rallied for the exchange of all sorts of news and confidences. It was such an attractive spot that even some soldiers (as I happen to know) who were provided by their parents with writing paper and stamped envelopes, preferred to do their correspondence in the Association tent among their comrades. As the home folks turned up their daily packets of mail, the letter from the dear lad in camp was recognized by the Association imprint on the corner of the envelope, side by side with a figure of the national flag.

It is, of course, impossible to estimate the wholesome influence which such an institution, redolent with the sweet thoughts and holy influences of home life must have wrought upon the youth in our camps. Multitudes of parents remember this work with grateful hearts, and among the soldiers themselves the field workers were held in high esteem and regarded with the utmost friendliness. The Association has made friends that will never forget it, and has laid the whole nation under an obligation which should be and has been recognized. In the memories of the future, next to the revered symbol of our nationality, the colors under which they marched and fought, the soldiers of the Spanish-American war will recall with the

keenest pleasure and highest veneration the banner above the door of the big tent that bore the familiar letters, "Y. M. C. A."

Statistics give an inadequate measure of such services, but they may indicate the amount of labor wrought by the field secretaries among the quarter of a million of young men in the army and navy during the Spanish war. The character of the work done in one tent may be cited as an example, that

Fig. 169

Living tent of field secretaries of the Y. M. C. A.

pitched near the First Pennsylvania Regiment at Camp Thomas, Chickamauga. In this one tent there was a total aggregate attendance during the summer encampment of 175,750, which is an average of 1673 daily visits by soldiers who used its privileges. Over 1000 letters a day were written in this tent, making an aggregate of 112,350. At the various entertainments given by the secretaries, 13,500 soldiers were

present. At the religious services, usually held in the evening, there was an attendance of 22,750. More than 3000 Bibles and Testaments were given out, not indiscriminately, but to soldiers who asked for them, and who thus gave proof that they felt the need of them. There were seventy similar tents in service in the various corps and divisions of the army, and, as far as one could see, they all seemed to be equally popular among the soldiers, and equally active in their work. It is, therefore, probably a fair estimate that from three to five millions of letters were forwarded to soldiers through the agency of the Army and Navy Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, all of which were written upon paper and enclosed within envelopes presented to the soldiers by their Christian friends.

The spiritual work accomplished by the young men cannot be calculated in figures, but there are doubtless thousands throughout the nation who owe to these Christian heroes the sacred influences which brought them to the beginning of a Christian life. There are doubtless many thousands more who owe to the same beneficent labors the influences which enabled them to resist the temptations of camp life, and maintain their manly dignity and Christian faith throughout the campaign.

I have called the field secretaries Christian heroes. The title is deserved. They shared with the soldiers all the privations and exposure of camp life. They lived in tents on the field. They were exposed equally with the soldiers to the assaults of malaria and of fever germs, with which our great camps were infested. The two secretaries attached to the Cuban army I saw in Santiago, wasted by hard work and climatic fever. They stuck to the Fifth Corps until its exode, shared with the soldiers the peril of exposure to yellow fever,

FIG. 170

Interior of living tent of a group of Philadelphia field secretaries.

torrid sun and torrential rains, scant food and inadequate care, and left behind them an honorable record of self-denying duty well done. This is heroism.

Soldiers' Hymns and Songs

One's thoughts pass naturally from the army work of the Young Men's Christian Association to the religious and other songs which the soldiers used. The hymns and songs most popular during wartime in Santiago and elsewhere present an interesting and in some respects a curious study. It would seem strange, for example, that such a hymn as

> "Nearer, my God, to Thee, nearer to Thee;
> E'en though it be a Cross, that raiseth me,"

should be the most popular and apparently the most widely known among all classes of soldiers. Yet it is so. When conducting services as chaplain in the camps and hospitals of the Fifth Army Corps, and upon ships of war and transports, as well as in the camps in the States, I found that when this hymn was announced, all the soldiers took hearty part in singing. One would hardly think that the high spiritual note touched in this familiar hymn, which breathes longing for a nearer spiritual communion with God, even at the cost of utmost sacrifice, would truly voice the sentiment of the rough and ready, oftentimes coarse and profane men, who joined with their more religious comrades in singing. Yet such was the case. It was the most favorite hymn at funerals, a fact that perhaps can be understood more easily. All soldiers are more or less affected by the sense of the near presence of death. The loss of their comrades is indeed "a cross;" and in the true spirit of camaraderie they feel a touch of woe that the companions of the tent and of the march, who shared with them the toils and perils of battle, have passed away.

FIG. 171

Interior of a Y. M. C. A. army tent, showing soldiers and Association workers.

The hymn which ranked in popularity next to "Nearer, my God," is probably "Rock of Ages." It will be observed that Col. Roosevelt, in speaking of the burial of Rough Riders at Las Guasimas, says that the soldiers sang this hymn in the service at the grave, while Mr. John Fox cites "Nearer, my God, to Thee" as the hymn then sung. It is not strange that one of these writers should have experienced a lapse of memory, as either of the two hymns would be naturally associated with such an occasion. Better known, perhaps, than either of these is the national anthem (which we sing to the national tune of Great Britain), "My Country, 'tis of Thee." Of course, all the soldiers know the tune, and many of them know at least a part of the verses. This hymn is now universally taught in our public schools, which will account for the familiarity of the young men of our army with both words and tune. It would be an act of patriotism and of philanthropy as well, if the above and other catholic hymns should be taught in public schools. But to the fact that most of our soldiers had at one time or another attended Sunday-school, and there learned the best-known hymns of the Christian Church, is due their familiarity with such hymns as "Rock of Ages," "Jesus, Lover of my Soul" and "Nearer, my God, to Thee." In many of the camps the men would gather in the evening around a little group of leaders, who had formed a temporary choir or chorus, and sing home songs. Almost invariably most of those sung were those they had learned in the Sabbath-school. Many of these were at once recalled as those contained in the well known "Gospel Hymns" of Moody and Sankey.

The great tents of the Young Men's Christian Association were also centres of holy song, especially in the evening or at dusk.

Then the field secretaries would kindle their flaring torches and standing in front of the tent or under the broad shelter of a near by tree would strike up a familiar hymn. As the notes rolled away among the tents the blue coats began to stir in the Company streets and move toward the singer. One and another would take up the tune even while walking along, and soon a great company would be gathered in consecutive circles around the Secretary, all heartily singing to well known melodies the dear hymns so closely and sweetly associated with church and Sunday-school and the loved ones at home. One who has heard this even-song of the soldiers swelling through the oak and maple woods of Chickamauga, or the tall pines of Tampa, or rising amid Cuba's groves of royal palms and cocoanuts, will not soon forget.

Mr. Stephen Bonsal, who was present during the entire campaign in Santiago, was passing up from the army headquarters near the San Juan Ford about ten o'clock on the evening of July 16th. He heard a body of troops approaching, marching at ease down the road leading from San Juan Heights toward Sevilla and Siboney. They sang as they came, and long before they reached the ford he knew that it must be a column of colored soldiers, as no other men in the army could sing as they sang. They trudged along through the darkness up to their knees in the mud, and as they came to the ford and crossed it through the shadows of the trees that overhang the stream from either bank, they sang with their deep, rich voices:

"When through the deep waters I call thee to go,
The rivers of woe shall not thee overflow."

Stopping to make inquiry, Mr. Bonsal learned that it was the Twenty-fourth Infantry on its way to Siboney, whither it had

been ordered to guard the sick in the yellow fever hospital. They were directed to push on and assume their trying duties at daybreak in the morning, and so they were making a night march. For a long time after the column had disappeared, swallowed up in the darkness, the war correspondent could hear the manly and melodious voices of the brave black men who shirked no duty, whether upon the battlefield or in the presence of the noisesome pestilence, singing their hymn of divine consolation and support :

"I'll strengthen thee, help thee, and cause thee to stand,
Upheld by my righteous omnipotent Hand."

In connection with this incident may be related an act of moral courage that has often been told and merits the utmost publicity. When the Twenty-fourth Regiment reached the yellow fever hospital at Siboney, it was found to be in a deplorable condition. Men were dying every hour from lack of proper nursing. Dr. Louis La Garde, the heroic surgeon who had charge of the hospital, appealed for volunteer nurses to Maj. Markley who commanded the regiment since the casualty to Col. Liscum in the attack on San Juan Ridge. The Major drew up his regiment in line, and the surgeon explained the needs of the sufferers, at the same time clearly setting forth the danger to the men who were not immunes of attending yellow fever patients. Maj. Markley then said that any men who wished to volunteer to nurse in the yellow fever hospital could step forward. The whole regiment made a step to the front. There never was an act of nobler heroism. The charge upon San Juan pales before the magnificent devotion and bravery exhibited by that single pace in advance shown by the gallant Twenty-fourth. Sixty men were selected from the volunteers to nurse,

and in a few days forty-two of these brave fellows were taken seriously ill with the yellow fever or pernicious malaria.

Once more the regiment was drawn up in line. Again Maj. Markley said that nurses were needed, and that any man who wished to do so could volunteer. It must be remembered that these soldiers were sent to Siboney simply to act as sentinels to protect the approach to the hospital, and to prevent those who had been exposed to the infection from departing without proper permission. It was a sanitary precaution against the dissemination of the pestilence. The men were under no obligation to serve as nurses or to do anything other than the duty to which they had been assigned. Moreover, after the object lesson which they had received, in the last few days, of the perils they would be exposed to in entering the precincts of the pestilence, one would think that the bravest might well have been excused for refusal to walk into the jaws of death. Yet, when this second request for volunteers was made to replace those who had fallen in their dangerous service, once more the entire line of blue coats and black faces moved forward. Every man had volunteered!

The records of heroism in the Spanish-American War, or, for that matter, in any other war, present no incident more worthy of commemoration upon the page of history, by poet's song and by the hands of sculptor and of painter than this act of the gallant blacks of the Twenty-fourth Regiment of United States Infantry. Perhaps it might not be unmeet to trace some connection between this humane and courageous deed and the song which the soldiers sang that night as they marched through the waters of the fording of the San Juan at Bloody Bend.

Of the three hundred and twenty men who entered upon guard duty at the Siboney Hospital and who remained for

forty days at their station, only twenty-four escaped without serious illness, and of this handful not a few succumbed to fevers on the voyage home and after their arrival at Montauk.*

As to the popular songs, one must admit that the repertoire of the soldiers was not a large or brilliant one, though every now and then one came across a regimental chorus or choir of a few music-loving spirits able to lead their comrades in many of the popular songs of our time. In such cases one was very certain to hear some of Foster's melodies, particularly "Way down upon the Swanee River," and "The Old Kentucky Home;" "Annie Laurie," and "Home, Sweet Home," of which, however, the men generally seemed to know only the tune and the chorus. In Santiago the most popular song was "A Hot Time." Its popularity began in the trenches, when the men daily gazed Santiagoward, longing to be let loose upon its defences, and dreaming of the time when they should enter as victors the streets of the city before which they were encamped. They knew well, from hard experience, that the hour of assault would be "a hot time," but they coveted its coming. During my entire stay in Santiago I heard this tune sung at almost all hours of the day and evening. Whole companies of soldiers would march down the streets, keeping time to the singing of "There'll be a Hot Time in the Old Town!" The Cuban street lads took up the strain and adapted it to their own words, which, one regrets to record, embraced the only bits of English which the boys had learned—a few American oaths. I found that not a few of the natives really believed that this tune was the American anthem, and had confused it in their minds with the "Star Spangled Banner." One can hardly wonder at the mistake, considering the facts.

*Bonsal—"The Fight for Santiago," p 434.

As to the "Star Spangled Banner," it was rarely sung in the camps. It is not a very singable tune. Besides, few of our officers and men know the words, which is certainly not to the credit of the modern American school teacher. I have been surprised and mortified on certain occasions to find the ignorance, among officers and the most cultivated citizens, of anything but the chorus of this, our national song. I recall one occasion on shipboard when, of a large company, the writer was the only person who could sing consecutively two verses of the song. On another occasion, while visiting the San Carlos Club in Santiago, a private soldier happened to be at the piano playing, and he played remarkably well. "The Star Spangled Banner" was called for, and although a number of officers were present, the writer again was the only person who could lead off with the words. The others, however, including a large number of Cubans who had gathered around the instrument, made up for the deficiency when they came to the chorus, which was sung with a heartiness that made the very plaza outside ring again.

But though the soldiers could not sing the words of the "Star Spangled Banner," it was an inspiring sight to see them honor the national tune and salute the colors, especially at "retreat." Then the men would spring from their bunks, and tents, and burrows in the trenches, and, standing silently on the entrenched hills, with heads uncovered and campaign hats held against their breasts, do homage to "Old Glory" and the Great Home Land beyond the sea whose majesty it symbolized. It is a vision that will not die—those heroes of Guasimas, Caney and San Juan standing bareheaded, as in worship, with faces toward the West where the setting sunlight bathed the towers and red-tiled roofs of Santiago, and the swelling summits of the

Sierra del Cobre beyond; and far, far, beyond that still, the dear Native Land and the loved faces of Sweet Home. Ach, God! that so many should see them nevermore!

Later on came in the song "Comrades, Comrades." Certainly, nothing could be more appropriate for an army piece. Both words and melody carry a sentiment that rings up the strongest and tenderest feelings in a soldier's breast. The National Relief Commission, whose headquarters were in Philadelphia, began an admirable work for our soldiers by printing what was called "a Knapsack Library." Of the two books issued one was a "Spanish Phrase Book," of which many thousands were distributed. The other was a "Song Book," which contained a few of the most popular hymns of the Church catholic, together with national and popular songs. It was a great boon to the boys. Anything that gets the soldiers to singing, and encourages them in the enjoyment of that which links them to home life with its higher and holier associations, not only aids to maintain moral discipline, but contributes largely to a form of enjoyment which is quite certain to win the men from lower phases of life.

The fondness of colored soldiers for singing and their aptitude therein has been referred to. I had several days' experience thereof on the U. S. S. *Yale*. The last night aboard was especially songful. A ship one-tenth of a mile long has some disadvantages. The weather-beaten Santiago pilot who boarded us as we inched up to the mouth of the harbor, slowly feeling our way with the log, answered Capt. Wise's question in true Yankee style, with another question, "How many feet?" The captain answered. "Ugh" (a shrug and expressive gesture with the hands), "no possibe! the *Reina Mercedes*"—another gesture, which indicated that the stern of the *Yale* would cer-

tainly bump against the wreck of that ill-fated ship lying there within the harbor's mouth. That settled the matter. We must send in for a transport to lighter us into "the bottle."

We anchored off the Morro awaiting the dawn to enter Santiago harbor. The colored soldiers of the Eighth Illinois Infantry, who were lying and sitting on the decks, had tuned up all their musical faculties, and the air resounded with their songs. Just outside the captain's beautiful office, which, by courtesy, I was permitted to use, Company K was singing an old National Guard song to the tune of "Baby Mine," the chorus being "Illinois! Illinois!" One man led in a rich tenor voice, and the whole company, perched on the iron rail of the inner guards, or seated and lying on the deck, chimed in with the refrain in full harmony. It sounded very sweet, indeed, in the night air. The dark, long waves answered back the hearty notes. Yonder, where the dim lights twittered on the crest of the old Morro hill, and among the tents of the American soldiers who guarded the battery on the ridge of Socapa, the melody must have been heard and, softened by the distance, seemed like a breath of "sweet home" wafted from the home land.

The bugle sounded reveille amidships. Again the call came from the bow, and seemed far away. A third time, and bugle notes came from aft, very faint, so that they seemed blown from the heights of the castle. The lads on the deck answered reveille with "My Old Kentucky Home" and "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground."

Then the bugle sounded, "Taps! Lights out!" The songs ceased; the chatter of a thousand voices gradually died into silence. All was hushed at last except the throbbing of the dynamo engine, and above the broad bank of clouds in the southern horizon peeped the Southern Cross, and Jupiter and

the Evening Star, in close companionship, cast a belt of light across the waves and bridged the *Vale* to the horizon.

Women Nurses for Soldiers

During the first weeks of the war the Medical Department discouraged the employment of women nurses in military hospitals. But later on the authorities experienced a change of policy, much to the advantage of the soldiers. As might have been expected, some of the numerous women nurses who were employed proved to be failures, and some were decidedly objectionable. But judging from my own observation and from direct information, most of them were faithful, competent and efficient. They were not all young and beautiful, nor did they all bear the names of distinguished families. Some were well advanced in years; some were plain work-a-day folk, and some had black skins. But they faced the yellow fever and other contagious diseases with unflinching courage. They bore the hardships and the often shocking and revolting service of hospital duty under the most trying circumstances, and they carried a world of comfort into the hospital tents where our sick lads lay. An atmosphere of home and home ways came in with the women nurses; and whatever the Medical Department may be pleased to think or say, "the boys" voted them a success. Even in the field hospital, where they were compelled to live in tents among the soldiers, the difficulties did not prove insurmountable or even formidable. They took their places there as a matter of course, just as in the family circle or in a well-regulated city hospital, and affairs adjusted themselves naturally and easily to the factor of woman's presence. I have yet to learn of a single case where a woman nurse was treated with disrespect or was subjected in any degree to discourtesy from soldiers.

In my testimony before the President's War Investigation

Commision I referred to this fact, and ventured the recommendation that the Medical Department of the army should supplement the hospital corps with a reserve corps of women nurses, who should be called into service at least during the present exigency. Indeed, I expressed the belief that they might with great advantage become a permanent part of the medical service, to be called to active duty when required. Based upon my experience and observation, both in the Civil War and in the Spanish-American War, I do not hesitate to say that women nurses, under suitable conditions, may be introduced with the highest advantage, and without undue discomfort and inconvenience either to themselves or to the soldiers, even into the general and divisional hospitals established back of the battle lines, during actual hostilities. With suitable dress and suitable equipments, trained female hospital nurses might thus bring their skill and experience and their womanly facilities for such work to the comfort and healing of the wounded. Had there been less "lack of woman's nursing" on the fields around Santiago de Cuba there would certainly have been a far greater "dearth of woman's tears" in the country at large where mothers, wives, sisters and sweethearts mourn the untimely death of the soldiers whom they loved.

The very presence of a woman nurse in a soldier's hospital is an inspiration to the sick. A woman's face and voice carry a glint of home. She's a guarantee of care and devotion which men well understand will rarely be given by their own sex. There are few men who make good nurses. In a rough and kind way they help their comrades, but when it comes to steady work and the bestowment of the delicate attentions which the sick require, the men who do their duty with loving persistency, with skill and at the same time tenderness, are rare indeed.

Some such I have met, incomparable men, the noblest specimens of manhood. But the majority of those who acted as hospital nurses, at least in our camps in the States, were clumsy, rude, unthoughtful, and at times deliberately negligent of those committed to their care.

Even if such were not the fact, there is something to be considered in the hereditary sentiment that the best nurse is a woman nurse. The men have always been used to the touch of a woman's hand in their times of sickness at home, and even a long tour of duty in the regular service of the army does not obliterate the feeling that the best hand for the sick bed is that of woman. There is something in woman's touch that men cannot impart, an invisible and impalpable something that those of us who have been sick at home and when away from home can well understand, though we may not well describe it.

Moreover, men become hardened by the fact that they are in similar conditions with their wounded and sick comrades. I can testify from my own experience that this does unconsciously influence one's attitude towards suffering comrades. The soldier reasons, "This man is going through what we all calculated upon when we enlisted. We took our chances, and we are still taking our chances. In that they are one with us and we are one with them." This feeling of being joint participants in a common peril and suffering, or liability to suffer, certainly does throw a different atmosphere around the hospital cot from that which would prevail under other conditions. This sentiment women are not liable to feel. They keep their sympathy fresh. The very difference between themselves and the men whom they serve, and the fact that they are not liable to such conditions, keep open the fountain of tenderness, and make the offices of woman gentler and more efficient.

Further, the habit of housekeeping tidiness, which nearly all women nurses maintain, is rare with men. The best trained Red Cross men are apt to keep things in a muss and litter. They are not tidy, not to say dainty, in their ways of administering to the sick. They have to be watched continually to assure that the implements and utensils required for hospital service are in wholesome condition. It is well-nigh impossible for men to overcome the hereditary male dislike (at least among Americans) of washing, scouring, scrubbing, sweeping and general housekeeping "redding up." But women go to such service with a willingness, or at least content that comes from natural descent, from life-long habit, and from that readiness which results from mental acceptance of such duties as a part of her destiny.

Another point in favor of a woman nurse, and one of prime importance, is her ability to prepare delicacies for the sick. In many fevers, and in fact in most cases of sickness, as much depends upon the diet as upon the medicine. No one will dispute the saying that many of our men died in the hospital from lack of nutrition. They could not take the food served to them by the hospital cooks. Women know how to prepare even the rudest material in such a way as to be both appetizing and nutritious. The trained nurse has, of course, been instructed in the diet kitchen. But any woman brought up in a well regulated home understands the art of ministering to a delicate appetite.

There is no reform in the Medical Department of our army which should more earnestly engage the attention of those in authority than that which relates to the proper preparation of food, and to its proper administration as well. It was hard enough for our soldiers while in good health to subsist upon

the messes prepared by unskilled company cooks, and doubtless the genesis of much camp sickness was the innutritious output of the camp kitchen. But when debilitated by illness, it is no wonder that they were nauseated by the wretched stuff presented to them by hospital helpers, especially when it was given in unclean vessels, and all the surrounding conditions were disgusting even to a sound organization. I will not offend the reader by detailing my observations of some of the methods that unhappily prevailed in some of our hospitals. The past cannot be recalled, but the nation will be chargeable with blood guiltiness if our authorities do not see to it that such a state of things is made impossible in the future.

Of course, men can be trained to something like home tidiness. This is proved by the way in which sailors succeed in acquiring a sort of domestic habit analogous to that of the woman housekeeper. They learn to cook and to be cleanly in their persons, and to keep everything in their ocean house "spick and span." On war vessels sailors become as tidy as an emmet, and everything about them is kept trig and trim. But there is a great difference in the environment of the sailor and that of the ordinary soldier. A ship is a sort of house. It is separate from the surrounding world. It is itself a miniature world. The law of necessity compels the growth and maintenance of habits needful to keep such an organization in perfect order. The temptations to untidiness that beset the soldier on land do not exist. Many of the conditions which contribute to uncleanliness and disorder are absent. No problem of disposing of garbage and effete matter disturbs the seaman, for there always is the great ocean into which all sewage may be safely and easily cast. The discipline of naval manners, drawn from the absolute necessity of the case and developed through

ages of experience, is a great power in creating and maintaining a habit of housekeeping cleanliness.

None of these favoring conditions obtains with soldiers. Everything is so wholly different, the circumstances are so

Fig. 172

A volunteer nurse at the Nautical Hospital, Santiago.

unfriendly, the temptations so great; the obstacles to cleanliness so much more difficult to be overcome, the inducement thereto so much weaker, that soldiers cannot be expected to attain the immaculate housekeeping ways of the trained man-of-warsman. So that, notwithstanding the possibility of training men to the home-making and housekeeping habit so natural to woman, the probability in the case of soldiers, during an ordinary campaign, is so slight that the demand for woman's help is fully justified in the care of hospitals.

Apropos of woman nurses, a pretty story was told me by Lieut. Wise, of the Ninth United States Infantry. A corporal of his company lay sick at the Boating Club House, which stands on the waterside near the quays, and had been converted into a hospital. While the officer was talking with his soldier a woman nurse came by and bathed the sick man's face and hands and fed him milk. "Do you know who that is, Corporal?" asked the Lieutenant, when the nurse had gone.

"No, I don't," was the answer; "but she's a perfect lady, she is! She's been awful good to us, and if ever I get a chance I'll show her how we appreciate it."

"That's Miss Wheeler—General Wheeler's daughter."

"What? Our General Wheeler!" exclaimed the Corporal, fairly startled into a sitting posture.

"Yes; our General—'Fighting Joe' Wheeler."

"Well, well!" the soldier exclaimed, dropping back upon his couch. "She's a brave and noble lady! And she's good blood, sir. That's a fine family, them Wheelers. God bless the brave little nurse!"

Citizens are usually disposed to regard the men in the fighting columns as the only heroes of the battlefield. But there are others equally entitled to the honor, who in the

interests of humanity, take risks which are often as great, and sometimes greater than those assumed by their comrades who go to the firing line. The non-combatants of the army, the heroes of the hospital corps and of the medical staff gave many proofs of their valor, and displayed a heroism of the highest type. In the army, at least, this fact is fully recognized, and it is pleasant to read in the general reports commendation of the distinguished courage and service of such surgeons as 1st Lieut. T. J. Kirkpatrick, of the Twenty-fourth Infantry, of Major W. B. Banister, of the Second Infantry, of 1st Lieut. J. R. Church, the gallant Surgeon of the Rough Riders, and of many others who like them exposed themselves to the bullets of the battlefield. Among those killed at San Juan was Assistant Surgeon H. W. Danforth, of the Ninth Cavalry, who lies buried among the unknown dead in the Cemetery of the First Division Hospital. Among the wounded of the First United States Cavalry was Major Surgeon LaMotte.

Heroic Hospital Workers

It perhaps requires even a higher quality of courage to go unarmed into the storm of battle, to care for the wounded, than to push forward to the front animated by the passion of combat, and by the consciousness of being able to return shot for shot, which does so much to nerve a man to face danger. No less courageous spirit was required by those surgeons, who like Major Le Garde and his able and fearless aids at Siboney, deliberately faced yellow fever day after day and week after week, living in the tabooed camps, and laboring to preserve the lives of others.

One may include in this category, as among the military heroes, those chaplains who faithfully performed their duties in the fields and hospitals of Santiago. Many of them I heard

spoken of in high terms of praise. I do not allude to the case or two of chaplains popularly alleged to have joined the firing line and united with the soldiers in the assault upon the enemy. Such men, if there were such (which I doubt), might be fairly classed with the officer or the soldier in the ranks who, when bidden to move forward and attack the enemy, should throw aside sword or musket under the pretense of going to the rear to pray with the dying and to aid in burying the dead. The army has no need of "fighting chaplains," in that sense. The articles of war forbid him and other non-combatants to wear weapons of destruction. "The shoemaker to his last" is a wise old proverb. So let the chaplain to his prayers, and to the humane duty of comforting and alleviating the suffering! He has no part nor lot in the work of killing men. The Bible and Prayer Book, not sword and musket, are the weapons of his warfare, and with these, when rightly used, he can display as fine courage, and has before him as wide a field of valiant service and self-denial as the bravest soldier who moves into the battle line. The manner in which some of our chaplains exposed themselves along with surgeons to the enemy's fire, and to the risks of yellow fever and other contagious diseases, in the discharge of their duties, and that in the simplest and most direct manner, without even seeming to be conscious that they were doing anything out of the common, was a subject of frequent comment and commendation in the Fifth Army Corps. I am not aware that any chaplains have been decorated with "leaves," or "eagles," or "stars," for such gallant and helpful services. But that they are equally entitled to such a distinction I have no doubt at all. It seems a little curious that apparently no one, from the President down, has even thought of "promoting" a chaplain "for gallant and meritorious service."

Perhaps this is an unconscious recognition of the truth that his office admits no elevation, because it already is at the pinnacle.

All surgeons and hospital workers with whom I have conversed have called attention to the remarkably small proportion of amputations required among those wounded at the battles of Caney and San Juan. This is due to the character of the Mauser bullet, which is so small and is driven with such velocity that it makes a clean wound of narrow dimensions, rarely shattering bones or tearing the flesh and arteries, as do the larger bullets fired from a weapon of heavier calibre. The army surgeons and hospital workers invariably refer to this fact. Dr. Lesser, Chief Surgeon of the Red Cross Society who was on the field at Siboney after the San Juan fight, and did excellent service in the hospital, made special mention of the commendable pains taken by the surgical staff at that place to save limbs when at all possible. There was no such rude and careless hacking of limbs as has been reported, and sometimes too truly, after the battles of our Civil War. But the surgeons would spend an hour for resection of the part in order to prevent amputation. Out of the total number of one thousand four hundred and fifteen wounded who were treated in the Siboney Hospital after the battle of San Juan there were but three amputations of the thigh, two of the leg, and one of the forearm observed by Dr. Lesser.* This ratio probably fairly represents the general results of the campaign.

Gunshot Wounds

The death rate was also unusually small in proportion to the number of wounds, only those dying who were wounded in vital parts, and even many of the wounds thus made, which under other circumstance would have involved certain death, were successfully treated. Considering the trying, one might almost

*"The Red Cross," by Clara Barton, p. 590.

say the horrible climatic conditions surrounding the wounded, the lack of the commonest comforts, and in many cases the long delay in securing medical treatment, the recovery of so large a proportion of our wounded is astonishing. The invincible spirit of our heroes, the fact that they were physically the flower of America's young manhood, and the fidelity and skill of the surgeons must be united with the character of the Mauser gunshot wound to account for such favorable results.

The humane character of such weapons of destruction is manifest from the simple statement of these facts. The Mauser bullet places the man out of action for the time, and thus removes him from the sphere of immediate and near activity. He is not permanently disabled, it is true. The bullet does not so mangle the flesh and fracture the bones as to make the unfortunate victim an invalid for life. But what is gained to the adversary by such disability beyond the mere satisfaction of inflicting suffering upon an enemy? As wars are now conducted, the issue between the contending parties is settled in a short time. A campaign of a few months or even of a few weeks determines results. This has been the case in all modern wars, and it must be increasingly true in wars of the future, under ordinary conditions. The rule is—a brief campaign, and then a settlement. Is it not obvious that the missiles which put the fighting man out of action for a comparatively short period satisfy all the requirements of modern civil warfare? Until the conscience and common sense of men shall decree the cessation of war, and the settlement of all national disputes by ethnic courts of arbitration or other peaceful methods which reason and religion may suggest, let rulers and people agree at least to minimize the power of destructive weapons to inflict suffering and to promote injury.

In looking back upon the events and experiences recorded in these pages, the author sees everywhere emerging as the dominant organizers and agents of victory, the officers and men of the regular army and navy of the United States. They are the real heroes of the campaign in Santiago de Cuba. Justice requires the acknowledgment of this; and none is more ready to join in giving the honor to whom honor is due, than the volunteer soldier who was permitted to share with them the labors, sufferings, perils and honors of the campaign, or (like the writer) to take some part in relieving the wounds of war. There is particular need, at this time, that the people should know and remember the truth.

The Regular Army and Navy

History repeats itself. The old cry, and in hardly a new form, that assailed Washington and the officers of the Revolution has been raised in the Congress of the United States and in the press—Militarism! There is danger, it is alleged; yes, there is a conspiracy to force upon the republic a military and naval organization that shall dominate the States and Congress, and at last lay the liberties of the nation beneath the iron arm of military dictators! Of whom is this alleged? Who are to be the active aggressors or the passive agents in this unnatural revolution? None other than the officers and men of our regular army and navy.

Let us not be moved by such hysterical clamor. The writer has had a large acquaintance with that class of men during the course of his life and service in two wars, and a service of more than fifteen years in the National Guard of Pennsylvania. He has been privileged to know, more or less intimately, and come into personal relations with nearly all the most eminent officers of the army in the war against the rebellion and

in the Spanish-American war, and many of the officers of the navy. He affirms that the land holds, living or dead, no more loyal and liberty-loving men than they. He goes further and declares that they stand forth pre-eminent among all other classes in their unswerving attachment to their country, to the Constitution, to the People, to Freedom and to the Nation's Flag. They are the last persons who could be bribed or forced into military despotism. Their education from youth up, all the influences that environ men in that formative period and go to fix character, have imbued them with an almost sacred regard for their country, its laws, its honor and its integrity. The Constitution of the United States is a text-book in the naval and military academies, which their graduates must know. They are sworn to support the Constitution and the lawful government of the United States. They must salute their magistrates and rulers with all the honors of war on every fitting occasion. To speak evil of dignitaries is a crime. Conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman merits dismission from the service. Loyalty is the highest point of honor, and is the first element in virtue. Implicit obedience and fidelity to duty are the inexorable laws of conduct, under all conditions, even unto death. All the precedents of the service, and all the highest examples from Washington to the present day, which army and navy officers are taught to emulate, confirm them in unswerving devotion to their country's liberty and welfare. If human reason can rightly estimate the force of education in forming character, surely it is a safe conclusion that the last man on the roll of American citizenship who should be suspected of designs against our country's integrity, are the officers of the army and navy, who have thus been disciplined in the rigid school of loyalty, reverence, love for all that

the country holds dear. The customs of school, of post, of camp, of battlefield set before them reverence for their rulers, submission to law and loyalty to the flag.

Where can one see such honors shown to the emblem of our nationality as in the army and navy? Every day, and often every hour of the day, the flag is saluted, or rather the majesty of the nation saluted through its flag. I have seen crowds of citizens stand stolidly during the service of a flag-raising, with faces turned upward as the beloved colors were unrolled against the sky, and scarcely a hat removed! If perchance a hat were doffed, the act located an old soldier or sailor, or some one who had felt the molding influence issuing from army and navy. I have seen the tattered battle flags of the Civil War borne through our streets; have marched with them through lines of citizens, miles of American men and women, and have scarcely seen a hand raised to salute the colors. Such neglect would be incredible, would be impossible in the army and navy. Soldiers are trained to reverence and to show reverence for their nation and its sovereignty as symbolized in its flag.

That reverence is carried to the point of a devotion unto death. What touching illustrations one might cite of the cheerfulness with which our soldiers died for their country. See them fighting and falling in the matted and prickly jungles of Las Guasimas, moving with steady progress and unflinching hearts against a rain of death from a hidden foe. There in the forefront of the fight falls the heroic commander of L Troop of the Rough Riders, Captain Allyn Capron, Jr. "Take this parting message to my wife, and this to my father," he said, and then in a cheerful voice, as though bidding him good night, he said "Good-bye," and was borne away dying. They buried him at Siboney by the Sea, and his father, the commandant of

the battery which fired the opening gun against Caney on the memorable 1st of July, 1898, went on with his duty, holding his grief in reserve, and soon followed his son, a victim of Cuban fever, in the long procession of the patriotic dead.

"*Let me go to my duty!*" was the dying word of Sergeant-Major Good, as he dropped at his post on Marines' Hill by Guantanamo Bay. A noble utterance, that voiced the spirit of the gallant little Marine Corps that waged the first battle upon Cuban soil. And who that knows the facts can doubt that it voiced also the spirit of every soldier and sailor under the flag?

See the men of gallant Lawton's command drawing closer and closer that fatal firing line around Caney! They move forward as steadily as the sun in his course. There they lie in long winrows, the solemn harvesting of death, upon those beautiful hills. There are their graves, scattered along the whole line of circumvallation, dotting the abandoned plantations where the heroes sleep beneath the royal palms and in the groves of cocoanut and mango.

See the blue line sweeping over the rounded height of Kettle Hill, black cavalrymen, and white, Rough Riders and Regulars, intermingled in the fierce passion of conflict. Yonder on the left is Kent's Infantry Division. Out of the deadly jungle and the Sunken Road they dash through the waters of Bloody Bend, dyed red from their wounds, and over the plain of San Juan whose feathered grasses beat breast-high against them, and become the winding sheet of many a gallant form. See them climb the steep height of San Juan Ridge, ribbed with the grey lines of Spanish entrenchments and lurid with the flash of Mauser rifles. On they move into the rain of death—their country bids it! They halt not, they swerve not, until the flag of the Union floats from the gallantly defended blockhouses on

the crest of the ridge, and the brave foes, that are not sleeping in death, are fleeing down the valley to yonder crests of Madre Vieja or the further heights of Santiago.

Who are these heroes? With the exception of one regiment and a fragment of volunteers they are the men of the regular army, infantry and cavalry. Who have led these heroes? Officers of the regular army! They taught those soldiers the mystery of discipline, the mastery of themselves and of their weapons. They taught them how to fight. They showed them how to die. Can we believe that these men and men like these are dangerous elements in the Republic?

Nor is this all. Fighting is not the hardest, is not the most trying duty of a soldier. Dying on the battlefield is not the supreme test of one's devotion to his country. The writer has been in every principal camp of the army in this country, and in every camp in the Province of Santiago de Cuba. He saw the army of Santiago, the Fifth Army Corps, a week after the final surrender. He visited thousands of men in the hospitals between that period and his final departure from Cuba. He saw the heroes of that campaign suffer with yellow fever, with typhoid fever, with dysentery and diarrhœa and all the ills that seem to have concentrated upon that unfortunate spot during the summer of 1898. It was wonderful to view the patience with which the soldiers suffered; unmurmuring, with no complaints, even when it was manifest that "some one had blundered"—fearfully blundered, and that precious lives were paying the penalty of blundering. Only twice did he hear anything like a murmur. One bright youth—he was little more than a boy—looked up from his cot where he was wasting away nigh unto death, and said, "Oh, Chaplain, I did not enlist for this—to die with typhoid fever!" Another, a mature man,

spoke in almost identical words, "I would not mind it, Chaplain, were it a battle wound. But it is hard to die out here with typhoid fever." Yet they died—and without a plaint. The heroism of the hospital forms a chapter of soldierly virtue and suffering which has never been told, which never can be told.

The glamour of the battle does not rest upon the hospital. But since it is inevitable that three out of four, or, at the least, two out of three of those who perish in our wars, must die in hospitals from sickness contracted in service, it is surely well for us to lay the chaplet of our honor upon the graves of those who perish thus. Can we be persuaded that men who will patiently, unselfishly, uncomplainingly, even cheerfully, suffer the ills of disease, the inconveniences and privations of inadequate nursing, of scant medicines, of coarse, unsuitable and unsavory food; who dare face death in a hospital for their country's sake and for the honor of the flag they love, are the material out of which conspirators and traitors can form a military despotism? No. We can trust the heroes of Manila and Santiago, of Porto Rico, of Las Guasimas, Caney, San Juan and Guantanamo. The men who have always gone forth in the perils of warfare to bring their country into some larger Canaan, will not be the men to drive the nation back into the wilderness of despotism.

"The Army and Navy forever!
Three cheers for the Red, White and Blue!"
God save the Republic! God save the President!

THE END.

Index of the Fallen

LIST * OF OFFICERS, ENLISTED MEN AND † OTHER PERSONS WHO WERE KILLED IN ACTION, OR DIED IN CUBA DURING THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page‡
Abbott, Nathan J.	Private	B	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 4	269
Ables, Frank	Private	B	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 27	289
Adams, James	Teamster			Oct. 24	
Adams, William	Private	F	20 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 6	157
Adams, William K.	Private	H	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 3	
Alden, Frank E.	Q. M. Sergt.	L	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 12	280
Alexander, Cornelius	Private	I	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 24	
Alexander, Dennis	Private	F	9 U. S. V Inf.	Nov. 7	
Alexander, Greenville	Private	N	34 Mich. V. Inf.	July 20	
Alexander, Joseph C.	Private	I	5 U. S. Inf.	Nov. 3	
Allen, John C.	2 Lieut.	B	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 25	
Allen, Robert	Private	C	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Ames, Marvin F.	Corporal	H	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 13	
Amter, I.	Sergeant	F	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
Anderson, Anton C.	Private	E	3 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 18	276
Anderson, August	Sergeant	F	20 U. S Inf.	Aug. 20	301
Anderson, Henry	Sergeant	A	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
Anderson, Karl J.	Seaman		U. S. N.	July 27	58
Anderson, Nels	Artificer	C	4 U. S. Inf.	July 1	199
Anderson, Robert	Private	B	10 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 14	
Andress, Leon G.	Musician	A	16 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Anthony, William G.	Civilian			Oct. 2	
Appleby, Frayer	Private	A	24 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 2	290

* This list has been made as nearly correct as my opportunities would permit. There are, doubtless, errors therein, and I know there are omissions therefrom which I sincerely regret. Nevertheless, it presents, with substantial accuracy, a roll of the American Nation's Fallen Heroes who died in Santiago de Cuba.

† All dates herein are for the year 1898 alone.

‡ The numbers in this column refer to those whose graves were visited or identified. The vacancies indicate that the author has no definite knowledge of the burial places of those so designated In the extremely difficult work of preparing this list, Gen. Ludington and other officers of the Quartermaster's Department gave most valuable aid.

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Arms, Nelson C.	Artificer	C	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Armstrong, Robert L.	Private	H	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 17	292
Arthur, James	Private		H. C. U. S. A.	July 1	
Ashbrook, Arthur A.	Private	A	17 U. S. Inf.	July 13	
Ashmore, Joseph P.	Private	D	12 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	267
Ashton, Budd	Private	A	24 U. S. Inf.		303
Atkins, Harvey R.	Private	I	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 25	
Atwood, Arthur L.	Private	C	5 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 28	301
Augustan, Charles J.	Private	G	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 27	
Augustine, Jr., Joseph N.	2 Lieut.		24 U. S. Inf.	July 1	122, 252, 253
Augustus, David	Private	L	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 20	
Austin, Walter	Private	G	10 U. S. Inf.	July 1	96
Axel, Christensen (?)	Private	C	16 U. S. Inf. (See Christiansen)		130
Ayer, Charles L.	Corporal	A	7 U. S. Inf.	July 2	175, 195
Ayo, Joseph J.	Sergeant	L	8 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 9	
Babbitt, George M.	Private	M	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 13	
Babcock, Albino J.	1 Lieut.	L	33 Mich. V. Inf.	July 26	
Bailey, Henry	Private	C	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Baker, James W.	Private	D	8 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 15	
Balcne, William N.	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
Baltzner, Ernest W.	Private	G	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Sept. 5	281
Bampton, James W.	Private	G	22 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Bangs, C. C.	Civilian				298
Banks, Frank	Sergeant	A	24 U. S. Inf.	July 3	
Banks, James R.	Private	E	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 16	92
Barbour, Frank E.	Private	I	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 15	
Barker, Albert	Private	B	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 2	
Barnes, Henry J.	Private	H	9 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 11	
Barnes, Roy S.	Private	I	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 8	
Barnett, Louis I.	1 Lieut.		9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 18	92
Barney, John S.	Private	A	16 Pa. V. Inf.	Aug. 16	
Barr, Herbert F.			33 Mich. V. Inf.		285
Barrett, Gregory	Captain	A	10 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 7	301
Barrett, Louis F.	Private	E	3 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 25	
Barrett, Thomas J.	Private	E	17 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 3	269
Bartholomew, William	Private	D	2 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 1	289
Bassey, Arthur	Private	D	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 16	
Bassett, Effie J.	Private	G	24 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 6	292
Baucher (see Boettcher)					288
Bearse, Richard H.	Q. M. Sergt.	B	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 2	

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Beattie, Archie	Private	C	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 4	
Beaumen, John	1 Class Pvt.	Balloon Det.	Signal Corps	July 26	289
Begley, Thomas	Private	C	21 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 21	280
Belleville, Alfred N.	Corporal	I	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 4	
Benchley, Edmund N.	2 Lieut.		6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Bender, Charles	Private	K	1 U. S. Art.	Aug. 28	281
Benegam, Edward		D	33 Mich. V. Inf.		289
Benjamin, Edward L.	Private	D	33 Mich. V. Inf.	July 28	
Bennett, Edwin T.	Private	B	16 U. S. Inf.	July 25	262
Bennett, Samuel	Private	A	22 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Bennett, Thomas K.	Private	H	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 2	261
Benson, Abraham	Private	E	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	286
Berbetich, Henry	Private	G	4 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 29	268
Berghahn, Albert C.	Private	G	3 U. S. Inf.	Nov. 24	
Bergh, Joseph M.	Private	F	6 U. S. Cav.	July 30	
Bergunde, Albert	Private	G	16 U. S. Inf.	July 26	262
Berlin, Jack	Private	K	1 U. S. Cav.	June 24	241
Bernard, John J.	2 Lieut.		6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	209
Bernhardt, Charles	Corporal	E	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Bearry, Joseph	Private	L	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 30	276
Berrett, Thos. J.	Private	E	17 U. S. Inf.		
Bertram, Harry	Private	F	3 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Bethel, William L.	Private	B	16 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 30	
Beve, J.	Private	F	25 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Bischoff, Harry T.	Private	F	2 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 31	
Bissell, Richard H.	Private	A	24 U. S Inf.	July 2	
Bjork, Emil	Private	K	1 U. S. Cav.	June 24	242
Bjork, Gust. A.	Private	A	12 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 8	268
Black, Joseph I.	Private	K	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Sept. 2	256
Blair, John W.	Q. M. Sergt.		N. C. S. 12 U. S. Inf.	July 22	263
Blake, Charles H.	Private	G	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	259
Blake, John B.	Private	F	5 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 19	301
Bland, Ebbie N.	Private	A	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 12	290
Bliss, Edward	Private	G	2 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 11	
Blout, Hugh C.	Sergt.-Maj.		3 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 27	
Bobb, John A.	1 Lieut. and Ass't Surg.		34 Mich. Inf.	Aug. 19	
Boettcher, Robert	Private	A	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 10	285
Boggs, Carter	Private	H	24 U. S. Inf.		288, 304
Boling, Benjamin F.	Private	F	21 U. S. Inf.	July 1	96
Bouiswail, Philip	Private	D	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 18	
Boldi, C.	Private	C	10 U. S. Inf.		261
Boldt, Charles	Private	F	10 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 7	

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Bonneville, Joseph	Private	D	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 9	
Bonry, Maurice M.	Private	D	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Booker, Robert	Musician	H	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 24	290
Boostel, Harry	Private	A	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 2	
Booth, Frank W.	Private	F	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 1	78
Booth, John	Private	L	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 1	14, 15
Boothby, Benjamin C.	Private	B	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 10	299
Bowen, Henry C.	Maj. and Surg.		2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 13	
Boyd, William	Private	C	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 29	
Boyer, Frank C.	Artificer	F	20 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 13	274
Boyle, James	Private	A	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 2	133
Boyle, Robert	Sergeant	D	17 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 4	29, 263
Brackman, Jr., John H.	Private	L	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 11	290
Bradley, John	Private	E	1 U. S. Inf.	July 17	
Brady, Edward J.	Sergeant	B	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 21	
Brady, Leo J.	Artificer	C	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 23	
Bratton, Clarence C.	Private	B	12 U. S. Inf.	July 1	195
Bray, George R.	Wagoner	F	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Sept. 3	281
Breiner, Halfdan Rye	Hosp. Steward		9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 10	157
Brent, William	Musician	H	24 U. S. Inf.	July 29	286
Briggs, George J.	Private	I	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 25	280
Brigham, William H.	Private	K	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 21	282
Briscoe, George	Civilian			Oct. 22	
Britton, William	Sergeant	G	1 U. S. Cav.	July 21	
Brockman, John H.	Private	L	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 11	
Brooks, George A.	Private	E	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 1	208
Brooks, George M.	Corporal	L	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 1	
Brooley	Private	G	1 U. S. Inf.	July 17	
Brown, Clifton B.	Private	N	71 N. Y. Vol. Inf.	July 1	133
Brown, Emory	Corporal		10 U. S. Cav.		297
Brown, George A.	Wagoner	G	24 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Brown, Gilbert A.	Private	E	5 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 12	301
Brown, James H.	Private	H	9 U. S. Vol. Inf.	Nov. 11	
Brown, Richard H.	Private	F	24 U. S. Inf.		304
Brown, Theodore	Private	D	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	110
Brown, Walter	Private	A	17 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
Brown, Walter J.	Private	D	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 11	
Bruce, Richard W.	Private	M	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 10	
Brunil, Edmond	Private	F	2 U. S. Art.	July 15	242
Bryson, John E.	Private	E	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 31	
Buchanan, Joseph	Corporal	B	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 24	
Buck, Charles E.	Private	H	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 30	

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Buehler, Fred	Private	E	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 15	
Buell, Raymond C.	Sergeant	A	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 25	281
Buford, James J.	Private	E	24 U. S. Inf.		304
Burnham, Arthur M.	Private	K	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 18	275
Burgin, Hardy L.	Private	A	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 10	
Burke, John F.	Private	E	17 U. S. Inf.	July 2	94
Burnette, Edward D.	Private	L	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 21	
Burton, Frank M.	Private	L	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 14	288
Busby, Cliff.	Private	L	34 Mich. V. Inf.		91
Buscher, Albert F.	Private	E	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 1	
Bussian, Conrad A.	Private		Hosp. Corps U. S. A.	Aug. 25	
Butcher, Charles Albert	Corporal	A	10 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 21	276
Butler, David	Private	K	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Byers, Adam R.	Private	I	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 16	
Byers, William H.	Private	C	17 U. S. Inf.	July 27	29, 263
Calhoun, William	Cook	B	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 4	
Callanan, Edward	Corporal	E	9 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 2	
Callery, Bartholomew	Corporal	B	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	117
Calmes, Calhoun C.	Private	B	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 4	
Campbell, Franklin	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 9	285
Capron, Allyn K.	Captain	L	1 U. S. V. Cav.	June 24	171, 173, 224, 232, 240, 242
Cary, Francis W.	Private	H	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 5	274
Carnagie, Frank	Private	E	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 1	
Carol	Private	D	25 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Carroll, Michael J.	Private	A	8 U. S. Inf.	July 20	
Carson, Garrett H.	Musician	A	5 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 9	
Carson, Lee	Private	B	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	190
Carter, Frank	Private	A	24 U. S. Inf.		303
Casey, Francis	Private	K	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 15	282
Cashion, Roy V.	Private	D	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 8	
Chamberlain, Clarence C.	Private	I	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 10	89
Chambers, Merritt B.	Private	A	4 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 9	
Champlin, Fred. E.	Private	A	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 2	
Chapman, Albert J.	Private	B	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 3	260
Chase, John H.	Private	E	2 U. S. Inf.	July 30	258
Chatham, Albert A.	Corporal	L	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 24	
Chevers, William E.	Private	I	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 1	261
Christiansen, Axel S.	Private	E	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	(See Axel)
Chubbs, Henry	Private	B	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 30	291

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Churchman, Clark	2 Lieut.		12 U. S. Inf.	July 2	34, 35, 173, 191
Clark, Charles M.	Private	M	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 21	
Clark, Harry	Private	A	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Clark, Robert F.	Private	E	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 7	
Clark, Willie	Private	C	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 14	
Clausz, William H.	Private	A	10 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	260
Cleary, John A.	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Clease, John H.	Private	E	2 U. S. Inf.	July 30	
Clements, Ernest H.	Private	C	6 U. S. Cav.	July 16	
Clemmens, Charles	Private	H	34 Mich. V. Inf.	July 26	261
Clements, Bennett T.	Private	C	4 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 28	
Cole, Eugene F.	Private	I	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 12	
Colebaugh, John A.	Private	C	16 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	
Coleman, George W.	Private	M	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 5	
Colling, Robert	Private	G	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	116
Collins, Hardy C.	Private	H	4 U. S. Art.	July 24	
Comb, C. C.	Teamster		U. S. Army		285
Connolly, James	Private	C	1 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 8	278
Connor, Joseph R.	Corporal	M	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 21	
Connors, Henry E.	Sergeant	G	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 21	292
Conselyea, Charles	Private	B	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	118
Conway, Daniel	Corporal	C	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Cooley, Dan D.	Private	K	3 U. S. Cav.	July 1	140, 150
Cooney, James	Private	F	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 1	
Coons, Charles A.	Sergeant	H	1 U. S. Inf.	July 31	
Corbin, M. T.	Private	C	10 U. S. Cav.	July 6	211
Corbin, Robert T.	Private	H	5 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 21	301
Corwin, William H.	Private	C	22 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 4	
Costello, Thomas A.	Corporal	H	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 29	
Courson, Robert L.	Private	B	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 19	
Covett, Frank M.	Private	H	16 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 2	256
Cousins, Benjamin	Corporal	B	25 U. S. Inf.	July 1	203
Covey, Fred G.	Private	M	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 9	
Cox, James J.	Private	D	4 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 24	
Creighton, Francis	Lieut.	B	U. S. V. Signal Corps	Oct. 24	
Cristor, Martin	Corporal	B	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 24	
Crocker, William F.	Private	A	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Crockwell, William H.	Private	M	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 11	
Cropper, Edmund W.	Private	C	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 19	
Crowley, Con	Private	D	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
Culman, George H.	Private	M	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 9	278

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Curtin, John A.	Private	C	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 15	257
Cushing, Charles P. F.	Private	C	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 1	
Dahl, John	Sergeant	G	12 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
Daly, Michael	Private	M	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 1	76, 77
Daly, Michael	Private	G	3 U. S. Cav.	Sept. 30	
Danade, Paul	Civilian			Oct. 21	
Danforth, Harry W.	Acting Asst. Surgeon			July 2	253
Darr, Hubert	Private	F	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 8	
Davis, Bartholomew	Private	C	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 30	
Davis, George E.	Private	D	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 22	
Davis, Hugh G.	Private	E	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 11	267
Davis, James	Private	D	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 24	
Davis, James A.	Private	F	12 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 28	
Davis, John	Private	A	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 13	92
Davis, Robert Dudley	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Davis, Thomas	Private	D	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 23	281
Davis, Ulysses	Private	C	10 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 8	
Davis, William	Private	A	21 U. S. Inf.	July 1	96
Dawson, Tilden W.	Private	L	1 U. S. V. Cav.	June 24	233, 242
Debend, Leopold	Civilian			Aug. 26	299
Decker, Joseph S.	Private	I	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 1	79
Dekinder, J. F.	Civilian		Stevedore	Nov. 13	
Delbridge, Edward	Private	D	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
De Leon, Rudolph (missing)	Private	E	in 1 U. S. Cav. action	July 1	
Delene, Albert	Corporal	L	9 U. S. V. Inf	Oct. 7	
Dellohunt, William	Private	M	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 16	
Demery, Benjamin F.	Private	B	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 10	
Dempster, William D.	Private	C	2 U. S. Inf.	July 3	97
Deaths, Kahlert	Private		13 U. S. Inf.		289
Denworth, T. B.	Civilian			Oct. 9	
Depler, Frank	Private	C	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 7	
Dermody, Ferdinand	Private	E	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 26	
Dermody, James M.	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
Duerr, Chas.	Corporal	F	13 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Desmond, Michael J.	Private	L	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 5	159
Detrick, Thos.		I	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 4	257
Devoe, Peter H.	Private	E	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	286
Dickinson, Walter M.	1 Lieut.		17 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Diggs, Charles H.	Private	D	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 7	289
Dimery, Benjamin F.	Private	B	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 11	
Dix, Peter H.	Private	K	1 U. S. Cav.	June 24	241

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Dodge, Charles	Captain	C	24 U. S. Inf.	July 30	285
Dodson, John H.	Private	C	10 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
Doherty, George H.	Corporal	A	1 U. S. V. Cav.	June 24	242
Dolan, John F.	Seaman		U. S. N.	July 5	58
Dolan, William J.	Private	D	34 Mich. V. Inf.	July 29	261
Dollard, William H.	Private	C	33 Mich. V. Inf.	July 26	289
Dolliver, Harry A.	Private	H	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Aug. 27	299
Donovan, Timothy	Corporal	D	7 U. S. Inf.	July 14	
Doran, John	Private	C	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	109
Doran, John	Private	I	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 14	
Dorn, John	Corporal	F	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	117
Douglas, Frank W.	Civilian			Sept. 8	299
Dowling, Richard N.	Private	F	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	120
Driskill, Daniel P.	Private	A	7 U. S. Inf.	July 20	
Drum, John	Captain		10 U. S. Inf.	July 1	119
Dudley, William T.	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 3	266
Dugan, Jesse	Private	C	5 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 25	301
Dugas, Anatole	Private	D	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 2	208
Duke, Samuel	Private	G	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 13	
Dumphy, William	Private		U. S. M. C.	June 11	52, 58
Dunbar, Austin J.	Private	F	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 1	
Dunn, John	Corporal	B	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 10	
Dwyer, Frederick W.	Private	B	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	190
Ecker, John W.	Private	G	9 U. S. Inf.	Aug 3	
Edgar, James	Private	I	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 26	291
Edwards, Frank	Private	F	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 30	
Egan, William V.	Private	B	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Egbert, Joseph O.	Private	F	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 16	259
Elliott, William G.	1 Lieut.	E	12 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	298
Ellis, G. H.	Chf. Yeoman		U. S. N.	July 3	50, 58
Elwell, Charles	Sergeant	C	2 U. S. Inf.	June 26	
Endsley, Guy D.	Private	F	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 18	
English, George	Private	B	10 U. S. Cav.	June 22	
Ennis, Thomas S.	Private	L	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 2	
Enyart, Silas R.	Private	L	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 1	
Erwin, William J.	Private	F	1 U. S. V. Cav.	June 24	242
Fairchild, John W.	Private	C	10 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 24	281
Fallon, John E.	Private	H	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 13	291
Farrell, James F.	Private	H	9 Mass. V. Inf.	July 26	286
Fatlik, Steven	Private	F	1 U. S. Cav.		276

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Fenney, Michael	Civilian			Sept. 2	291
Fesette, Arthur E.	Private	C	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 2	286
Field, Charles H.	1 Lieut.	L	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 1	209
Fields, Ashley	Private	M	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 17	86, 87
Fish, Jr., Hamilton	Sergeant	L	1 U. S. V. Cav.	June 24	224, 235, 242
Fisher, Charles	Private	B	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 20	
Fisher, Morris C.	Private	A	20 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Fleckenstine, George	Private	C	20 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 30	280
Flint, John	Private	F	3 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 22	
Flowers, Mitchell	Sergeant	C	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 29	
Foley, Charles	Artificer	B	8 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Foley, John	Private	C	8 U. S Inf.	Aug. 13	
Foor, Adron E.	Private	A	17 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Fornance, James	Captain		13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	252
Forrester, William L.	Corporal	H	22 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Force, Albert G.	Major		1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	37, 80, 81, 141
Fort, Lewis	Trumpeter	H	9 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
Foster, Leonard A.	Private	C	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 12	
Foster, Dudley A.		F	7 U. S. Inf.		288
Fragne, William	Private	A	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 1	
Frank, Abel S.	Private	D	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 28	
Franklin, Charles	Officer's Servant		7 U. S. Inf.	July 28	301
Franklin, John	Private	L	33 Mich. V. Inf.	July 1	293
Frederick, William	Private	K	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 20	282
French, Lynward	Chf. Bo'sn's Mate		U. S. N.	Aug. 9	58
Frolkey, Edward	Private	G	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
Fuller, Frank M.	Private	M	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 10	289
Furlong, Walter P.	Private	E	U. S. Eng. Corps	Sept. 2	
Furgeson, Davis C.	Private	M	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 19	
Fuson, William T.	Private	A	17 U. S. Inf.	July 1	190
Gaddie, Thomas H.	Private	G	23 Kan. V. Inf.	Sept. 19	
Gaines, Mosley	Private	B	10 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 19	292
Galbraith, Hugh J.	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 4	
Galvin, William	Private	A	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 7	
Ganger, Paul R.	Private	D	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 24	26, 88
Garrett, John	Private	D	24 U. S. Inf.		304
Garrett, Willis	Private	K	8 Ill. V. Inf.	Sept. 16	
Garvin, Henry			Govt. Wheelwright	Oct. 26	
Geany, Patrick D.	Private	G	16 U. S. Inf.	July 28	

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Gearin, Patrick	Private	F	12 U. S. Inf.	July 1	190
Gibbs, John B.	Act. Asst. Surg.		U. S. N.	June 12	54, 58
Gibler, Frank	Private	I	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 5	288
Gibney, Michael	Private	B	22 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Gibson, William	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 7	269
Giesemann, Arnold	Private	K	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 13	305
Gifford, Jerome F.	Private	Band	13 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 2	261
Gilbert, Thomas V.	Private	D	34 Mich. Inf.		274
Gilbreath, Erasmus C.	Major		4 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 22	
Gillman, Walter	Private	F	20 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 14	157
Good, John C.	Private	E	16 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 31	256
Godfrey, Lee K.	Private	G	10 U. S. Inf.	July 1	95
Godley, Forest A.	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	
Goetz, Herman W.	Private	F	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 10	280
Gombert, Charles	Private	K	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 16	305
Good, Henry	Sergt. Maj.		U. S. M. C.	June 13	53, 58, 60
Gordon, Albert F.	Private	H	4 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 29	
Gordon, Perry E.	Private	I	20 U. S. Inf.	July 31	157
Gough, William J.	Musician	H	9 U. S. Inf.	July 23	
Grady, Patrick J.	Major		9 Mass. V. Inf.	July 30	157
Graffin, Frank	Private	A	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	10, 114, 115
Graham, Harvey H.	Private	A	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 7	266
Grahn, Gus.	Private	L	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 29	262
Gratz, Edward	Chf. Master-at-Arms		U. S. N.	Aug. 4	58
Gravel, Joseph, Jr.	Private	M	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 21	
Gray, Albert H.	Private	B	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	190
Gray, John	Private	F	17 U. S. Inf.	July 2	94
Gray, Walter	Private	H	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 19	
Gregg, John E.	Private	I	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 14	286, 288
Green, Henry C.	Trooper	E	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 1	140, 148
Green, Warren	Private	H	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 5	285
Green, William C.	Private	H	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 9	268
Griener, Joseph	Private	D	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 3	276
Griffin, Arthur	Private	H	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 26	
Griffin, Joseph C.	Private	H	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	268
Griffith, Jesse J.	Sergeant	C	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 5	288
Griggs, William	Private	H	24 U. S. Inf.		304
Grills, Henry J.	Corporal	H	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 6	276
Gruber, Daniel E.	Private	C	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 8	268
Gruby, Henry F	Private	C	4 U. S. Inf.	July 1	199
Gund, Adams	Private	I	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	151
Gurney, John A.	2 Lieut.	I	24 U. S. Inf.	July 1	122, 124, 125

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Guy, Robert C.	Private	D	2 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 12	298
Haag, Joseph M.	Sergeant	F	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	134
Haan, Peter P.	Private	D	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 3	274
Haefner, Harry	Private	G	1 U. S. V. Cav.	June 24	234, 242
Hagerstrand, Andrew F.	Private	B	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 25	281
Hague, Harry G.	Private	H	8 Ohio V. Inf.	July 31	
Hakanson, Fabian H.	Private	H	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 6	
Halberg, Gust	Private	E	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 6	
Hale, Archie C.	Sergeant	L	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 15	
Hall, Joel R.	Corporal	B	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 1	140, 147
Halman, Frederick	Sergeant	K	17 U. S. Inf.	July 17	
Hamill, Willard D.	Private	A	2 U. S. Cav.	July 20	
Hamilton, James M.	Lt. Col.		9 U. S. Cav.	July 1	25, 141, 151
Hamilton, John W.	Private	A	20 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 13	
Hamilton, William		F	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 29	
Hamrod, Justice H. (see Ibamrod)					298
Haney, James M.	Private	F	6 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 16	261
Happer, George L. (see Hopper)					
Harden, Richard J.	1 Lieut.	A	1 D. C. V. Inf.	Aug. 9	285
Harris, Edward	Corporal	I	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 15	
Harris, Oliver	Corporal	D	2 Mass. Inf.		298
Harrison, Charles	Private	F	22 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 1	
Hart, Parker S.	Private	C	7 U. S. Inf.	July 15	
Hartman, Theodore	Private	H	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 8	
Harwood, Justice W.	Civilian			Aug. 19	
Haughton, Clifford,	Private	F	9 U. S. Vol. Inf.		
Haven, George F.	Private	D	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 5	288
Hayes, D. C.		B	20 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 5	274
Hayes, James	Corporal	C	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 4	257
Hayes, Mitchell E.	Sergeant	C	2 U. S. Inf.	July 3	
Hays, Vener C.	Private	B	20 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 5	
Haywood, Henry	Sergeant	K	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 2	
Healy, Patrick J.	Private	F	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 4	
Heath, Lewis C.	Private	C	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 8	278
Hees, Christian	Private	E	17 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
Helm, Victor	Artificer	A	2 U. S. Art.	July 1	
Henderson, John F. W.	Musician	G	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Hendricks, Mils A.	Private	L	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 1	148, 149
Henry, Arthur	Sergeant	B	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 10	286
Henk, Cornelius	Private	H.	C. U. S. A.	Aug. 15	291
Hibner, William C.	Sergeant	B	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 5	

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Hicks, Charles	Private	F	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	288
Hill, Hubert	Private	D	10 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 13	
Hines, Joseph J.	Private	E	9 U. S. Cav.	Aug 4	
Hinlong, ———	Private		U. S. Engs.		269
Hinnen, George E.	Corporal	F	2 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 7	281
Hoadley, Charles J.	Private	L	1 Ill. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 8	287
Hogan, John	Private	D	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 8	278
Hogsett, Harry L.	Private	G	4 U. S. Art.	July 17	
Holderness, George R.	Prin. Mus.		34 Mich. V. Inf.	July 29	
Holland, Charles D.	Private	M	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 1	
Holliday, Charles J.	Private	G	20 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Holloway, George R.	Private	E	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 29	268
Holman, Fred	1 Sergt.		17 U. S. Inf.	July 17	
Holmes, Joseph	Private	F	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 27	
Hone, Harvey M.	Corporal	A	16 U. S. Inf.	July 4	
Hoppe, Frank E.	Private	A	3 U. S. Inf.	July 3	97
Hopper, George L.	Corporal	H	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 7	290
Hossfield, Albert	Private	C	4 U. S. Inf.	July 1	199
Houghton, Clifford J.	Private	F	9 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 8	299
Howard, Percy H.	Private	B	1 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	267
Howe, Tom.	Private	D	25 U. S. Inf.	July 1	203
Howitt, John	Corporal	C	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 25	256
Hudson, Gus.	Private	H	24 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Huffman, Melville B.	Private	C	9 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 1	298
Hughes, Cam	Private	C	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 29	
Hughey, Robert F.	Private	B	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Hulme, Francis	Private	C	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Hunt, Jesse M.	Corporal	B	7 U. S Inf.	July 1	189
Husby, Olaf	Private	L	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 12	
Hussey, Eugene A.	Private	A	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 24	281
Ill, James B.	Private	A	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 19	
Ihamrod, Justice H. (see Hamrod)					298
Immen, George L.	Corporal	C	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 1	
Ingle, Reuben	Private	A	20 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	75
Ingoman, Madison	Q. M. Serg.	D	9 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 8	
Isler, Nathaniel S.	Private	H	7 Inf.	July 1	190
Jackson, Charles H.	Wagoner	B	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 12	
Jacob, Charles D.	Private	G	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	112, 141
Jacobson, Nathan	Civilian			Aug. 2	
Jarvis, Walter A.	Private	A	9 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 19	276

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Jasmin, Placide	Private	C	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 13	92
Jenkins, John	Private	K	9 U. S. Cav.	Sept. 3	256
Jennings, Henry J.	Corporal	K	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 12	275
Jensen, Hans K. T.	Private		H. C. U. S. Army	Oct. 18	
Jerome, L. V.			9 U. S. V. Inf.		282
Jewell, Nelson M.	Private	A	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 1	258
Jilbert, Thomas V.	Private	D	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 5	
Jindra, Albert	Private	B	3 U. S. Inf.	July 2	208
Johnson, Andrew	Private	F	2 U. S. Cav.	July 20	
Johnson, August	Private	E	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 20	276
Johnson, Charles	Civilian			Sept. 4	299
Johnson, Christian	Private	A	1 U. S. Inf.	July 31	
Johnson, Conrad C.	Private	A	1 U. S. Inf.		269
Johnson, Ernest	Private	F	10 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 14	
Johnson, George	Private	B	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 19	
Johnson, Henry	Sergeant	E	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 27	
Johnson, James	Private	H	9 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
Johnson, Josh W.	Sergeant	E	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 7	
Johnson, Lewis	Corporal	H	24 U. S. Inf.		304
Johnson, Otto W.	Private	F	4 U. S. Art.	Aug. 2	288
Johnson, Peter	Private	H	22 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Johnson, Richard W.	Private	G	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 10	
Johnson, S. O. (not found on rolls)		F	7 U. S. Inf.	July 30	
Johnson, Samuel V.	Private	I	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 1	
Johnson, Sylvester	Private	Band	8 Ill. V. Inf.	Oct. 22	
Johnson, William F.	Corporal	B	10 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
Johnson, W. M.	Teamster		8 Ill. V. Inf.	Sept. 19	
Jones, Archibald H.	Private	F	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 25	281
Jones, John W.	Q. M. Sergt.	E	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Jones, Louis	Private	E	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 8	
Jones, R. A.	Private	B	7 U. S. Inf.		190
Jones, Richard	Laborer		1 Div. U. S. Army		
Jones, William	Laborer			Sept. 2	
Joyce, John	Corporal	E	9 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Kallock, William	Private	G	22 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 8	268
Kane, John B.	Private	H	9 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	
Kane, Robert	Corporal	A	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Kauflin, Fred	Private	A	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Keffer, George	Packmaster		U. S. Army		297
Kelly, Daniel J.	Private	G	12 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Kelley, Her. H.	Private	C	4 U. S. Inf.	July 1	199

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Kelley, Robert G.	Private	G	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 10	
Kendig, James A.	Private	F	2 U. S. Cav.	July 20	
Kent, George	Private	K	24 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 22	59
Keplinger, Charles C.	Private	A	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 2*	
Kerrigan, E.	Private	B	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	175, 195
Kiernan, John J.	Private	C	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	28, 121
Killgallon, John	Private	A	9 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 21	282
King, James Clarence	Private	C	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Sept. 5	
Kingston, Charles W.	Corporal	M	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 16	282
Kirby, Peter	Sergeant	F	4 U. S. Inf.	July 1	203
Knowles, William R.	Corporal	K	8 Ohio V. Inf.	July 28	
Kocarnik, Louis	Private	F	4 U. S. Art.	July 31	211
Koch, Ebert E.	Corporal	A	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 6	258
Koester, Henry, Jr.	Private	L	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 3	276
Kolbe, Gustav A.	Private	K	1 U. S. Cav.	June 24	241
Koops, Carl	1 Lieut.		10 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 6	
Koschig, Charles F.	Private	H	33 Mich. V. Inf.	July 31	289
Kroupa, Edward C.	Private	F	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 11	280
Krupp, Otto	Private	B	1 U. S. Cav.	June 24	241
Kuhlmann, Charles	Private	H	4 U. S. Art.	July 20	
Kuykendall, Fred D.	Musician	B	23 Kan. V. Inf.	Sept. 25	
Kyte, John W.	Corporal	L	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 8	278
Ladley, Harold W.	Private	K	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
La Cross, Oliver L.	Private	I	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 12	
Lahman, Ralph	Private	G	1 Ills. V.		297
Lakeman, Bryon L.	Private	I	8 Ill. V. Inf.	Oct. 3	
Landmark, Frederick	Corporal	D	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
Lane, Joseph D.	Private	I	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 9	278
Langley, James L.	Saddler	B	6 U. S. Cav.	July 2	133
Lanois, Joseph M.	Private	L	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 3	
Lannen, John	Sergeant	G	3 U. S. Cav.	July 24	285
Larson, Christian	Corporal	F	12 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 3	269
Larson, Hans	Private	H	3 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 7	276
Lautzenheiser, Irven	Private	D	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 13	
Lavasser, Jerome	(Not on Rolls)		9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 15	
Lawson, John	Private	K	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 29	
Lee, John S.	Private	G	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 16	291
Leek, Albert H.	Private	E	22 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	268
Leeuwenhook, Gerrit	Private	E	2 U. S. Inf.	July 23	258
Leftwick, Aaron	Private	G	25 U. S. Inf.	July 1	203

*The company and date are different on the headboard.

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Lehr, Philip	Private	C	12 U. S Inf.	July 1	190
Leininger, John A.	Captain	F	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 8	277
Le Maitre, Paul G.	Private	L	1 Ill. V. Inf.	July 31	288
Leonard, Patrick	Sergeant	F	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Leonard, William H.	Musician	H	3 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	280
Leroy, Frank	Corporal	F	7 U. S. Inf.		266
Lester, Isaac A.	Private	A	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 1	288
Lewis, Albert	Corporal	I	7 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Lewis, Clarence	Private		2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 20	256
Lewis, George	Prin. Mus.		7 U. S. Inf.	July 22	
Lewis, John A.	Private	B	25 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 6	276
Lewis, Louis H.	2 Lieut.		9 U. S. Inf.	July 1	125, 126
Lewis, Richard T.	Private	F	18 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Lewis, William	Private	D	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 12	
Lidell, Thomas	Private	F	24 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Liggett, Ed.	Private	A	1 U. S. V. Cav.	June 24	238, 242
Lind, George	Private	D	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 3	260
Lindberg, John P.	Private	F	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 10	31, 87
Linder, Roland L.	Private	I	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	151
Lindquist, John N.	Private	C	3 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	82, 83
Lines, Max	Private	G	9 U. S. Inf.	July 19	
Linsener, Carl	Private	F	12 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 16	
Little, Andrew	Private	G	2 Mass V. Inf.	Aug. 22	
Llennoc, Alexander	Corporal	K	1 U. S. Cav.	June 24	242
Logan, William R.	Private	F	2 U. S. Art.	July 16	
Logue, David	Private	B	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 1	144, 147
Lonergan, Daniel	Private	H	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	10, 125
Long, John W.	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Longway, Thomas	Private	B	9 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Losee, Frank	Private	B	9 U. S. Inf.	June 23	
Louis, Clarence C.	Private	F	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 30	
Loundy, Henry D.	Private	F	20 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	157
Lovejoy, George B.	Private	E	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Sept. 12	282
Lutz, Eugene A.	Private	G	1 U. S. V. Cav.	Aug. 15	
Lyman, Henry E.	Private	D	10 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Lynch, Fred. W.	Private	F	22 U. S. Inf.	July 12	
Lyons, Frank	Civilian			Oct. 4	
Lytton, John A.	Private	C	2 U. S. Inf.	July 2	97
Macmillan, Norman J. G.	Private	M	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 20	292
Maguire, John J.	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Maher, Daniel	Private	D	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	190

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Maher, Thomas	Sergeant	H	21 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 21	280
Mahon, Anthony	Private	A	8 U. S. Inf.		269
Mahoney, Patrick H.	Private	D	20 U. S. Inf.	July 26	
Malehan, Arthur	Private	L	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 17	291
Malone, John J.	Private	B	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 2	208
Maloney, Daniel J.	Private	G	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 13	291
Manley, William D.	Private	H	16 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 4	299
Marr, Otis	Private	K	33 Mich. V. Inf.	July 11	293
Marrison, Willis S.	Trumpeter	D	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Sept. 26	
Mars, Ward	Private	I	33 Mich. V. Inf.	July 24	286
Martens, Richard	Private	G	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 28	256
Martin, George	Private	L	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 3	274
Martin, James A.	Private	H	33 Mich. V. Inf.	July 26	
Massa, Anthony	Private	A	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 6	
Mauplin, Socrates	Private	G	1 D. C. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 13	299
Maxie, William	Private	G	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 28	
Mayer, Charles	Sergeant	A	2 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Mayo, Silas Isley	Private	C	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 5	276
Meade, Charles M.	Musician	C	8 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Meadows, Daniel P.	Private	C	16 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 14	291
Mealey, John E.	Private	C	24 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 9	303
Mellin, Ragner	Private	I	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 7	159
Mendig, John A.	Private	K	16 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	262
Mercer, David	Private	E	3 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 4	
Messett, Edward	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 1	266
Michael, Harry	Sergeant	K	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 30	
Michaux, Lawrence	Private	C	9 Ill. V. Inf.	Sept. 14	
Michie, Dennis M.	1 Lieut.		17 U. S. Inf.	July 1	114, 133
Mickelson, Albert	Private	A	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 8	87, 88
Mickelson, Henry J.	Corporal	A	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 8	
Miller, Charles F.	Private	C	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 2	
Miller, Clare	Private	D	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Miller, Henry	Sergeant	E	3 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	73
Miller, James H.	Private	D	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 25	281
Miller, John R.	Corporal	G	24 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Miller, John S.	Trooper	E	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 16	
Miller, Raimund	Sergeant	F	12 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
Miller, Theodore W.	Private	D	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 8	
Miller, Victor	Sergeant	E	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 24	
Minnis, John F.	Private	A	2 U. S. Inf.	July 30	258
Minor, Edward G.	Private	L	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct 6	
Miroski, John A.	Private	M	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 27	281

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Missall, Adolph N.	Private	F	3 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	84
Mitchell, Charles C.	Private	L	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Sept. 4	290
Mitchell, John D.	Private	F	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Sept. 4	
Mitchell, Thomas A.	Private	C	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 24	
Monahan, Patrick J.	Private	B	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 16	265
Montgomery, Humphrey	Private	A	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 17	292
Moody, Frank E.	Private	K	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 1	208
Moore, Edward B.	Corporal	H	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	267
Moore, Joseph B.	Private	Band	4 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 12	
Moriarity, Jas. Dominick	Private	E	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 17	157
Morris, Joseph	Bugler	C	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 17	
Morrison, Theophilus W.	Captain		16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	133, 138
Mosley, Joseph	Private	D	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 3	
Mosley, William J.	Private	H	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	304
Moss, Edward	Private	H	23 Kan. V. Inf.	Nov. 11	
Moss, Jesse S.	Corporal	B	24 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Muck, Frank J.	Private	D	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 7	
Mulford, Thomas H.	Private	L	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 25	292
Mullen, James M.	Private	F	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Munden, John A.	Private	E	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 2	
Munger, Eugene	Private	C	1 U. S. Cav.	Sept. 3	281
Murphy, John J.	Private	A	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 24	281
Murphy, Thomas	Private	E	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 4	
Murry, Martin T.	Private	F	22 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Myers, Charles	Corporal	E	8 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Myhan, Joseph F.	Private	A	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 24	
Myott, Edward	Private	L	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 13	275
McAllister, Arthur C.	Private	I	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
McAlpin, William F.	Private	I	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 15	
McBride, Bernard	Private	I	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Aug. 23	299
McBride, John	Private	B	17 U. S. Inf.	July 1	190
McCafferty, David	Private	E	2 U. S. Inf.	July 29	258
McCarthy, Daniel F.	Private	I	2 U. S. Inf.	July 23	
McCarthy, James F.	Sergeant	K	1 U. S. Art	July 1	76
McCarthy, Timothy K.	Sergeant	A	13 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 24	292
McCartney, John W.	Corporal	D	10 U. S. Inf.	July 1	96
McCartney, James E.	Private	C	6 U. S. Cav.	July 3	
McClatchey, Robert	Private	C	21 U. S. Inf.	July 1	96
McClearie, Felix	Private	G	10 U. S. Inf.	July 1	96
McClenahen, Jesse T.	Private	A	2 U. S. Cav.	July 17	
McColgan, J.	Private		U. S. M. C.	June 11	52, 57
McConnell, Oliver M.	Corporal	H	20 U. S. Inf.	July 5	

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
McConville, John	Corporal	B	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	120
McCorkle, Harry L.	2 Lieut.		25 U. S. Inf.	July 1	175, 200, 201
McCormick, Lawton V. V.	Private	K	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 15	
McCreery, George	Maj. Surg.		U. S. Army	Aug. 23	
McCutcheon, Charles H.	Private	D	9 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 16	305
McDole, Moses	Private	H	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 3	
McDonald, John A.	Private	D	34 Mich. V. Inf.	July 31	260
McDonald, Terrence M.	Musician	D	17 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	29, 263
McDonald, William	Private	E	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 4	
McFadden, Joseph W.	Private	G	1 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 14	275
McGartlen, Michael	Sergeant	B	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	89, 143
McGoldrick, Michael	Private	C	1 U. S. Inf.	July 28	
McGown, Charles	Private	B	— U. S. Inf.	Aug. 10	304
McGowan, James	Private	B	9 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	297
McGraw, Patrick	Private	B	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
McGuire, Harvey	Private	E	6 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 10	280
McGuire, J.	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.		189
McIlwain, William J.	Private	D	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	129
McIntosh, Daniel	Private	D	8 U. S. Inf.	July 2	254
McK——					197
McLaughlin, George P.	Private	B	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 6	276
McLean, Frank H.	Corporal	A	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 19	
McLain, Jeremiah P.	Private	B	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 10	
McLeod, William E.	Sergeant	A	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 7	
McLoughlin, Eugene B.	Private	A	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 16	274
McNamara, John H.	Private	K	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 13	157
Naftzger, Fern R.	Private	D	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 19	
Narcisee, Joseph	Private	C	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 7	
Nash, John	Private	C	5 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 12	299
Neal, Edward	Private	F	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Neary, William C.	Lieut.-Col.		1 U. S. Inf.		295
Neilson, Jens C.	Blacksmith	F	2 U. S. Cav.	July 17	
Nelson, Arthur	Private	B	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 1	
Nelson, Charles C.	Private	G	3 U. S. Inf.	July 12	
Nelson, J. (?)	Private	C	24 U. S. Inf.		
Nelson, John E.	Private	C	6 U. S. Inf.	July 3	304
Nelson, Louis	Private	I	20 U. S. Inf.	July 24	
Newman, Warren S.	Private	E	16 U. S. Inf.	July 23	
Newman, A. H.	Private	B	3 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 23	89
Nickens, Samuel	Musician	B	8 Ill. V. Inf.	Oct. 6	

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Nikodem, John J.	Corporal	K	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Sept. 17	282
Noblett, David	Private	G	13th U. S. Inf.	July 28	
Nordan, Lauthling C.	Private	A	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 1	
Norton, Oliver B.	Private	B	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 1	140, 144, 145
Nottingham, Barton C.	Corporal	K	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 5	287
O'Brien, Joseph J.	Private	C	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 19	
O'Brien, John G.	Private	G	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 29	291
O'Brien, Michael	Sergeant	D	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	134
O'Brien, Michael J.	1 Lieut.	A	5 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 16	301
O'Connell, Daniel	Private	D	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 2	
O'Connor, John E.	Private	K	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 11	304
O'Conner, Michael J.	Major		9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 6	159
O'Dowd, John R.	Private	A	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Oliver, John	Sergeant	E	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 2	261
O'Malley, Michael F.	Private	K	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 20	157
O'Neill, William	Captain	A	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 1	
Ord, J. G.	1 Lieut.		6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	81
O'Shea, Richard	Private	A	9 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 2	
Owens, Daniel D.	Private	D	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 14	
Packard, Arthur H.	Private	G	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 1	
Palmer, ———	Private	E	7 U. S. Inf.		286
Park, William	Private	K	1 Ill. V. Inf.		286
Park, W. A.	Sergeant	H	12 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Pausler, John H.	Private	H	4 U. S. Art.	Aug. 15	290
Pausler, Max H.	Private	D	33 Mich. V. Inf.	July 29	289
Payne, French	Private	B	25 U. S. Inf.	July 1	203
Pazsur, John	Private	C	8 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Peacock, William R.	Private	E	2 U. S. Inf.	July 23	258
Pease, Harry L.	Private	H	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 4	274
Peixotto, D. L. M.	Captain		3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 24	
Penn, Edward	Private	D	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 5	304
Pendleton, William	Private	F	24 U. S. Inf.		290
Pepper, John J.	Private	E	6 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 8	278
Perkins, Merrill D.	Private	A	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 9	
Perkins, Milliard F.	Wagoner	B	6 U. S. Cav.	July 2	133
Perry, W. M. M.	Private	A	24 U. S. Inf.		303
Peterson, Arvid T.	Private	K	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 31	290
Phelps, John B.	Private	D	25 U. S. Inf.	July 1	203
Phillips, Charles J.	Private		33 Mich. V. Inf.		291

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Phillips, Jacob P.	Private	E	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 14	285
Pike, William L.	Private	K	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 7	
Piller, John	Private	D	5 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 10	299
Piper, William C.	Corporal	K	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 4	269
Pixton, William A.	Corporal	B	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	141, 151
Ploude, Edward	Private	E	21 U. S. Inf.	July 1	95, 98
Poole, Guy E.	Private	D	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Sept. 13	292
Poole, Thomas	Trumpeter	E	3 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Poore, William F.	Private	K	1 D. C. V. Inf.	July 26	
Powell, Sanford G.	Private	B	16 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 14	262, 289
Powell, William	Private	D	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 9	
Power, M. J.	Shipwright		U. S. N.	Aug. 30	58
Power, Sylvester	Private	E	2 U. S. Cav.	July 31	
Powers, Charles A.	Private	C	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Aug. 18	
Prather, John H.	Private	H	4 U. S. Art.	Aug. 15	
Preger, William	Private	A	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 1	14,15,128
Preston, George	Private	D	10 U. S. Cav.	July 23	157
Primus, Willie	Private	L	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 18	
Prouty, John A.	Private	H	8 U. S. Inf.	July 29	
Provost, G. N.	Artificer	I	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 24	
Pugh, James T.	Private	B	3 U. S. V.	Dec. 20	
Pugh, William J.	Private	B	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 30	
Pullman, Alexander	Private	D	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 15	92
Quirke, James	Corporal	G	12 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 23	268
Quirke, Thomas C.	Private	D	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 16	
Ralp, Walker	1 Sergt.	M	9 Mass. V. Inf.		155
Ramsey, Robert	Private	C	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 6	286
Randall, Harvey	Private		2 Mass. V. Inf.		
Rapon, Louis C.	Corporal	K	8 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 27	
Rause, Herman (?)	Private	G	24th U. S. Inf.		304
Ray, Joseph	Sergeant	A	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 2	
Ray, Melvin	Private	I	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	151
Reddington, John	Corporal	K	22 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 10	
Reed, Benton	Private	D	5 U. S. V. Inf.	Aug. 22	
Reese, Louis	Private	K	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 6	
Reeves, Walter	Private	C	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 8	287
Redinger, Clem	Private	C	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Reidner, Charles E. (name not found)			10 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 5	
Reilly, Joseph	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 13	265

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Reilly, Stephen	Private	F	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 13	
Requa, Richard K.	Private	C	9 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 19	297
Reynolds, Lewis	Private	A	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 1	131
Richards, John	Private	B	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 21	291
Richardson, Albert	Musician	L	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 17	282
Richardson, Charles W.	Private	L	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 20	90
Richmond, George A.	Private	G	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 1	
Riley, Benjamin	Private	M	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 15	
Riney, F.	Corporal	I	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Ritter, Ephraim	Private	G	5 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 11	
Rivers, Lawrence W.	Sergeant	F	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 2	
Roach, Patrick	Private	E	8 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Robertson, Tom	Corporal	B	24 U. S. Inf.	July 27	289
Roberts, Robert W.	Corporal	B	24 U. S Inf.	July 1	
Robinson, Adolph	Sergeant	D	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 22	
Robinson, John F.	Trooper	E	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 2	133
Roche, Timothy	Private	G	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 1	
Rodman, Henry	Musician	I	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 2	
Rooper, Frederick	Corporal	H	21 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 4	
Rollo, Wesley C.	Private	E	3 U. S. Cav.	July 2	
Rose, Harry R.	Private	E	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Ross, Charlie	Private	I	1 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 18	256
Ross, Edward J.	Private	G	6 U. S. Cav.	July 1	131
Ross, Harvey R.	Private	E	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	134
Ross, Reuben	Private	M	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 2	76
Ross, William J.	Private	D	1 U. S. Cav.	July 20	
Rote, Frederick	Private	A	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	125
Rowell, Charles W.	Captain		22 U. S. Inf.	July 10	96
Royer, Ora N.	Private	K	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 6	
Ruckledge, Wm. D.	Chf. Machinist		U. S. N.	Aug. 11	59
Ruhl, David F.	Private	C	5 U. S. Inf.	Nov. 22	
Rusher, Luther	Private	F	5 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 30	299
Russell, Marcus D.	Sergeant	G	1 U. S. V. Cav.	June 24	242
Rutledge, Paul	Corporal	A	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	117
Ryan, Samuel J.	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	July 2	197
Ryan, Thomas	Private	C	2 U. S. Inf.	July 1	97
Ryan, William	Sergeant	I	20 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 14	282
Rydberg, Andrew	Private	E	3 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 1	33, 83
Salisbury, Burton	Private	B	21 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 6	265
Saltus, Isaac	Civilian	Packer		Sept. 22	282
Sanberg, August	Private	E	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Sanders, William H.	Private	B	1 U. S. V. Cav.	Aug. 12	
Sandoe, George	Private	G	21 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 30	299
Santo, William T.	Private	L	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 1	140, 148
Saunders, William G.	Private	B	9 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 6	157
Sawin, Joseph	Private	A	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 26	
Scheid, Henry J.	Corporal	F	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 3	252
Schetzel, Ernest A.	Private	H	22 U. S. Inf.	July 2	264
Schmidt, Herman F.	Private	M	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 1	
Schneider, Charles	Private	L	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 10	
Sater, William A.	1 Lieut.		13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Schupert, Herbert	Private	U. S. Hosp. Corps.		Sept. 18	
Scofield, Sidney A.	Private	K	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 1	118, 120
Scott, Adolphus C.	Private	F	12 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
Scott, Charles	Trumpeter	C	6 U. S. Cav.	July 2	
Seabright, Ferdinand	Private	L	33 Mich. V. Inf.	July 1	
Sedden, James R.	Private	A	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 18	290
Seefeldt, Otto H.	Private	D	5 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 16	301
Seitz, Frank	Private	H	16 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 25	
Sharp, Frank E.	Musician	C	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 19	292
Sharrott, Eugene L.	Sergeant	G	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 13	274
Shaw, Harry A.	Corporal	F	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 2	287
Shaw, John A.	Private	F	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	Aug. 11	280
Shea, Patrick J.	Corporal	A	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Shelly, W.	Private	D	20 U. S. Inf.		285
Shields, George	Private	H	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	190
Shipp, William E.	1 Lieut.		10 U. S. Cav.	July 1	155, 157
Shord, Rinaldo K.	Private	H	34 Mich. V. Inf.	July 29	261
Showalter, William O.	Private	B	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Shupert, Herbert E.	Private	B	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Sept. 18	
Sills, James F.	Private	C	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 7	291
Simonds, I.	Private, Musician		34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 20	89
Simons, Charles	Private	F	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 11	
Simpson, Amos J.	Private	M	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 1	
Sims, William S.	Private	H	6 U. S. Inf.	July 7	95
Sine, William E.	Private	E	17 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Skinner, Louis B.	Private	B	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 1	
Slaughter, William H.	Private	G	10 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
Slaven, John W.	Private	G	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Slusser, James M.	Private	H	2 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Smith, Arthur	Private	M	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 27	
Smith, Charles H.	Sergeant		U. S. M. C.	June 11	53, 59
Smith, Ernest	Private	F	10 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	259

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Smith, Francis	Private	E	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 25	291
Smith, James L.	Private	K	4 U. S. V. Inf.	Nov. 7	
Smith, James M.	Private	M	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 4	
Smith, Joseph M.	Private	E	9 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 9	
Smith, Paul	Private	B	8 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 19	
Smith, Race H.	Private	B	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 5	
Smith, Sandy	Private	H	24 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 21	290
Smith, Streaty I.	Private	F	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 6	
Smith, William	Sergeant	D	1 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
Smith, William H.	1 Lieut.		10 U. S. Cav.	July 1	141, 153
Smoot, John H.	Private	A	10 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
Snide, James G.	Private	B	2 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 20	
Spade, Joseph	Private	B	8 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Spencer, Mortimer E.	Private	H	24 U. S. Inf.	Oct. 5	304
Spicer, De Forest A.	Private	A	9 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Spicer, Walter E.	Postmaster at Guantanamo, Cuba			Oct. 27	
Stallings, James S.	Private	B	12 U. S. Inf.	July 30	262
Stapleford, Charles W.	Private	D	16 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Starke, Jacob	Civilian Cook		2 Mass. V. Inf.	Sept. 10	282
Stebbins, Charles A.	Private	I	3 U. S. Vol. Inf.	Sept. 25	
Steel, Seymour G.	Private	F	23 Kan. V. Inf.	Nov. 3	
Steele, James B.	1 Lieut.		Signal Corps U. S. V.	Aug. 5	285
Steele, John W.	Private	D	25 U. S. Inf.	July 1	203
Stetson, Clair H.	Sergt.-Maj.		1 U. S. Inf.	July 12	286
Stetson, Fred. S.	Private	G	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 15	
Stevens, George	Private	E	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 4	
Stevenson, J. Alfred	Private	A	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 3	287
Stewart, Arthur D.	Private	C	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 10	
Stewart, Fred. E.	Sergeant	Sig. Cps.	9 U. S. V.	Aug. 12	
Stewart, M.	Teamster		U. S. Army		286
Stohlman, August	Private	H	2 U. S. Inf.	July 2	
Stone, Daniel A.	Private	D	1 Ill. V. Inf.	July 20	
Stone, William	Private	A	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Stork, Jesse K.	Private	A	1 U. S. Cav.	June 24	241
Stovall, George	Private	D	10 U. S. Cav.	July 1	
Strickler, Harry C.	Private	B	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	116
Strother, Albert	Private	H	25 U. S. Inf.	July 1	203
Stuart, Fred E.	Sergeant		U. S. V. Sig. Corps	Aug. 12	285
Sullivan, Henry	Private	G	9 Mass. V. Inf.	July 23	157
Sullivan, Jeremiah J.	Private	L	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 11	
Sullivan Patrick (not found on roll)		E	7 U. S. Inf.	July 21	
Sutter, Gustavus V.	Private	E	22 U. S. Inf.	July 1	210

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Sutton, Edward	Wagoner	G	9 U. S. Cav.	July 30	
Swartz, Charles F.	Private	B	1 U. S. Cav.	July 9	254
Sweeney, William A.	Private	H	2 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 21	
Swift, Thomas	Private	E	24 U. S. Inf.	July 5	
Swetnam, John W.	Private	B	1 U. S. V. Cav.	July 1	140, 144, 147
Symons, John	Private	E	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 21	
Taft, Frederick B.	Private	C	2 Mass. V. Inf.	July 14	255
Taft, Millard F.	Private	H	3 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 19	276
Taliaferro, Charles L.	Private	H	25 U. S. Inf.	July 30	
Tarner, C. E.	Corporal	L	8 Ohio V. Inf.		95
Tate, Eugene	Corporal	A	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 20	
Tatlick, Stephen	Blacksmith	I	1 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 7	
Taurman, G.	Private		U. S. M. C.	June 13	58
Taylor, Alfred H.	Private	H	21 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 4	288
Taylor, Bernard J.	Civilian			Aug. 15	
Taylor, Joseph	Private	H	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Dec. 11	
Tennant, Dallas P.	Private	K	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 5	88
Temperton, Joseph W.	Private	B	3 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 13	
Tervehn, Albert	Private	I	20 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 5	25, 76
Thoman, Charles	Sergeant	A	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 4	
Thomas, John	Private	M	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 22	282
Thomas, William	Private	K	8 Ill. V. Inf.	Nov. 27	
Thompson, Maryland	Private	G	10 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 10	290
Thorburn, Oren	Private	B	34 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 4	288
Thorn, Charles	Private	B	6 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 28	280
Thorne, William B.	Sergeant	B	7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	266
Thornton, Andrew	Private	G	9 U. S. Inf.	July 29	298
Thyne, Jr., John	Private	L	2 Mass. V. Inf.	Aug. 6	
Tick, Luis	Private	G	33 Mich. V. Inf.	Aug. 14	290
Timannus, Frederick	Private	E	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Tolene, Irene	Contract Nurse			Sept. 25	
Tompkinson, Albert	Private	E	21 U. S. Inf.	July 1	96
Tower, Ellen M.	Contract Nurse			Dec. 9	
True, William H.	Sergeant	C	9 U. S. Inf.	Sept. 3	256
Turman, Reuben S.	2 Lieut.		6 U. S. Inf.	July 4	254
Tuttle, Reuben S.	Private	C	24 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Tyler, Frank W.	Private	I	2 U. S. Vol. Inf.	Oct. 1	
Tyner, Dr. E. S.	Acting Asst. Surg.			Sept. 8	
Undergrave, Silas	Private	H	2 Mass. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 1	
Underwood, Asa B.	Private	A	2 U. S. Art.	July 1	

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Date of Death	Page
Vandenboom, Peter F.	Private	L	34 Mich. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 4	274
Van Slyke, Allie P.	Private	A	33 Mich. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 17	
Van Valkenburg, Lawrence	Private	A	4 U. S. Inf.	July 2	264, 291
Venable, Henry	Private	A	9 U. S. Cav.	July 24	
Vesper, Paul L.	Private	B	2 Mass. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 10	
Viberts, Charles	Corporal	I	1 Ill. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 26	281
Villavarso, Jerome	Private	L	9 U. S. Vol. Inf.	Sept. 15	
Vincent, Paul	Private	D	9 U. S. Vol. Inf.	Sept. 29	
Vine, Frank M.	Wagoner	E	9 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 17	290
Vivian, Francis J.	Private	D	34 Mich. Vol. Inf.	July 31	261
Wabur, ———	Private	H	33 Mich. Vol. Inf.		286
Waggoner, William R.	Private	E	U. S. V. Sig. Corps	Sept. 26	
Wagner, Louis H.	Private	G	13 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 4	
Walker, William	Private	A	9 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Walker, William H.	Private	G	5 U. S. Vol. Inf.	Nov. 2	
Wallace, Edmund R.	Corporal	A	6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	10, 114, 115
Wallace, Joseph L.	Private	M	9 Mass. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 19	
Walters, F. S. Y.	Musician	G	4 U. S. Inf.	July 1	199
Walthus, William	Civilian			Aug. 22	299
Wamble, Charles	Private	E	24 U. S. Inf.	July 26	289
Wansboro, Thomas A.	2 Lieut.		7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	184
Ward, Roy E.	Private	H	16 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Ware, Benjamin F.	Private	M	5 U. S. Vol. Inf	Oct. 8	
Warfle, Dennis	Corporal	F	10 U. S. Inf.	July 4	254
Warner, M. J.		B	22 Inf.	July 1	208
Warren, John E.	Private	A	3 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Washington, Philip A., Jr.	Sergeant	I	9 U. S. Vol. Inf.	Oct. 1	
Waters, William J.	Private	B	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 10	280
Weber, Leonard	Private	G	17 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
Webster, Alfred	Private	A	12 U. S. Inf.	July 20	262
Weiker, Leonard L.	Artificer	H	8 Ohio Vol. Inf.	Aug. 1	
Weil, Julius B.	Private	G	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	94
Weis, Ambrose	Private		7 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 6	
Weisheit, Fred	Private	A	21 U. S. Inf.	July 1	96
Welch, Thomas H.	Private	L	9 Mass. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 13	
Wert, Frank S.	Private	Band	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	188
Wetherill, Alexander N.	Captain		6 U. S. Inf.	July 1	111, 112
Wheeler, James Woodbury	Private	C	2 Mass. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 3	
Whipple, George E.	Corporal	M	2 Mass. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 12	269
White, Edward Seymour	Private	C	7 U. S. Inf.	July 1	189
White, William L.	Corporal	E	10 U. S. Cav.	June 24	241

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Whiting, Charles	Private	G	3 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 11	285
Whiting, Edwin W.	Private	A	1 Ill. Vol. Inf.	Aug. 8	272, 278
Whitson, Irwin	Private	G	10 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 28	290
Whitten, George J.	Private	E	7 U. S. Inf.	July 24	
Whitworth, Burt	Private	G	8 Ill. V. Inf.	Oct. 31	
Wikoff, Charles A.	Colonel		22 U. S. Inf.	July 1	129, 132
Willford, Ward A.	Private	B	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 15	297
Williams, George	Private	L	8 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 25	
Williams, Joseph	Private	I	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Oct. 15	
Williams, John P.	Sergeant	F	24 U. S. Inf.	July 1	109
Williams, Robert	Private	H	3 U. S. V. Inf.	Dec. 4	
Williams, William	Ambulance Driver			Sept. 17	
Wilson, Alexander	Private	L	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 18	92
Wilson, Dudley D.	Corporal	G	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 7	
Wilson, John	Private	I	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 22	289
Wilson, John	Private	I	10 U. S. Cav.	Aug. 9	
Wilson, Silas T.	Sergeant	F	12 U. S. Inf.	July 1	190
Wingerter, Edward J.	Private	I	8 Ohio V. Inf.	Aug. 2	
Winn, Alfred	Private	L	9 U. S. V. Inf.	Sept. 30	
Wischman, William	Private	F	2 U. S. Cav.	July 25	
Witt, Louis	Private	Band	7 U. S. Inf.	July 23	
Wood, Elmer G.	Wagoner	G	18 U. S. Inf.	July 1	121
Wood, William M.	2 Lieut.	G	12 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 12	269
Wren, Charles	Private	G	8 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 7	
Wright, John C.	Civilian			Aug. 19	
Wright, Thomas	Private	A	13 U. S. Inf.	July 1	118
Young, Gebhard	Corporal	G	22 U. S. Inf.	July 1	
Young, Warren Harlen	Private	I	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 17	
Young, William D. S.	Sergeant	E	71 N. Y. V. Inf.	July 29	261
Yourzee, Eugene N.	Private	D	7 U. S. Inf.	July 26	
Zigler, Robert M.	Private	I	16 U. S. Inf.	Aug. 22	292
Zitck, Joseph	Private	E	2 U. S. Inf.	July 18	
Zoubeck, Paul	Private	K	1 Ill. V. Inf.	Aug. 4	286

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